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Historical Fragments
Title— of the Mogul Empire

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

INDIA

OF THE

MOGUL EMPIRE.

Robert Ker

WE have already published some portion of the military transactions of the British Nation in INDOSTAN, from the year 1744. In that publication the affairs of BENGAL are brought down to the month of September 1758, when the presidency of Calcutta detached a considerable part of their force to attack the French possessions in the Northern provinces of Coromandel. Very soon after the departure of this armament, the province of BEHAR dependant on Bengal was invaded by the SHAH ZADA, which title may be interpreted, the acknowledged heir of the Mogul Empire: who some months before had made his escape from Delhi, where his father had been

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dethroned,

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Orme. 1758. 1759. 1760. 1761.

dethroned, and was kept in close confinement by the Vizir. After a variety of distresses, the prince had collected a body of troops, which with his own name, and supposed aversions against the government of Jaffier, he thought sufficient to reduce the city of Patna. From this possession he expected to acquire the means of re-establishing his father's, or at least his own authority, at Delhi.

The degradation to which the sovereignty of the Moguls was at this time reduced, in every province of their dominion, proceeded from evils, which had been increasing ever since the death of AURENGZEBE, and cannot be developed without a general view of his reign, as well as the reign of his successors. This period comprizes 100 years. The events, if we had acquired the knowledge of them in time, would have formed a proper introduction to the later portion of history, which we have already published: and the narrative they require is too extensive to find place as an insertion in the

continuation of that work. We therefore
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give it apart, and only in the character of FRAGMENTS, which the want of more materials disables us from disposing into a more regular form.

AURENGZEBE dated the commencement of his reign from the 12th of May 1659. His father, Shah Jehan, died after seven years confinement in the castle of Agra, on the 21st of January 1666. The enquiries of Europeans have not hitherto procured any history of Aurengzebe composed by a native of Indostan, which extends beyond the 13th year of his reign, answering to 1671 of our æra. Mr. Frazer, who was at Surat in 1740, says that he forbade his life to be written; Catrou says quite the contrary; but that he prescribed the mode. Accordingly, the ALUM-GUERNAMA, which comprizes the first ten years of his reign, was composed under his immediate inspection, and is a shameless apology for the deposal and imprisonment of his father, and the destruction of his three brothers, with six of their sons; whose removal cleared his way to the throne. But should there
be

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be no consecutive history of the rest of his reign, different portions of it will probably be found in the annals of the provinces he ravaged, and of the princes he subdued.

The empire at the death of Shah Jehan, extended from CABUL to the NER-BEDDAH, westward of this river to the INDUS, and to the eastward comprehended BENGAL and ORIXA. In the DECAN, which is the intermediate region, and bounded on the north by the Nerbeddah, the Moguls had reduced the countries dependant on BRAMPORE, AU-RENGABAD, AHMEDNAGAR, and BENDER; which had been connected into one government. This territory was bounded on the east by BERAR, westward by the hills towards CONCAN; and by the dominions of GOLCONDAH and VIZIAPORE to the south.

Aurengzebe held this government under his father, and acquired in it the means of dethroning him. Even at that time, his capacious mind had determined, to annex all the unconquered countries of the

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the peninsula to the empire: and it is probable that he would have marched into the Decan to prosecute this enterprise in person, as soon as released from the anxiety of his father's life, whose death is imputed to him, if wars and insurrections had not demanded his presence in the northern parts of his dominions. In the mean time a power was rising in the Decan to resist the onset, and after various vicissitudes to retaliate on his successors, the injuries of his sword.

SEVAGI was the founder of the present nation of Morattoe. He drew his lineage from the Rajahs of Chitore, who boast their descent from Porus, and are esteemed the most ancient establishment of Hindoo Princes, and the noblest of the Rajpoot tribes.

The father of Sevagi, with his three sons, had employment under the King of Viziapore. Sevagi assuming on the merit of several military successes, and on the consciousness of his talents, gave suspicions to the ministers, of which he prevented

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vented the effects by retiring with the troops of his own command to the mountains of the sea-coast, in which he got possession, without resistance, of several strong forts. The security of these retreats, and the connections he contrived to maintain in the army of Viziapore, brought several bodies of troops to his service; and the reputation of his lineage, and abilities, induced many of the Rajpoots of his own tribe, to devote themselves to his fortunes; and the more, because he was in hostility with a Mahomedan power, against whom they are always fond of fighting. The plunder of the champaign country was the means of subsistence. The king of Viziapore sent a considerable force against him, of which he seduced the commander Abdul to a conference, by professions of submission, and stabbed him with his own hand; it is said, by a device, which, if practicable, could not be suspected; on which an ambuscade cut down all the retinue, except the general's son, who escaped back to the

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the camp, which immediately broke up and dispersed.

Aurengzebe commanded at this time in the Decan, and was meditating his ambitious return to Delhi; he had broken the force of Golcondah, but Viziapore still remained formidable, and would become much more so after the departure of the best troops and generals, whom he intended to take with him. His sagacity saw a substitute in the enterprising spirit of Sevagi; whom he congratulated on his victory over Abdul, exhorted him to persevere, gave him two or three forts, which opened into Viziapore: but not foreseeing the extent of the concession, or confident of retrieving it, promised that he should hold, exempt from tribute to the Mogul, whatsoever territories he might conquer belonging to that kingdom.

Pannela was one of the strongest fortresses in the Concan, towards the capital of Viziapore, and Sevagi got possession of it by a stratagem. Seven or eight hundred of his best troops were led off

by their officers, who had suffered themselves, some to be affronted, others to be chastised by him: they took service in Pannela, which Sevagi some time after invested, and the officers on a set night, at a part where trees were growing as high as the walls, received as many of his his men from without, as, with those within, were sufficient to overpower the garrison; and then opened the gates. Sevagi acquiring more troops with the increase of his reputation, extended his ravages still farther into the dominions of Viziapore. The king sent his whole force against him, under the command of the son of Abdul, Sevagi kept the field, but out of reach, until he had bought one of the generals, who commanded a considerable part of the cavalry; and then stood the shock. The tainted general kept aloof, which spreading suspicions of more treasons, the efforts of personal valour in Abdul's son were not seconded, and he retired, although with much greater numbers, little less than discomfited from the field. Ma-

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ny of the suborned cavalry, although not the general, joined Sevagi; who soon after appeared plundering, in the mode of the Moraattoes of this day, within sight of the walls of Viziapore: on which the King's army marched against Pannela, which called back Sevagi to its defence. The siege was conducted by Siddee Jore, an officer of long standing and reputation, who held the government of the port of Dunda Rajapore, with the adjacent country; and was admiral of the fleet, which the King maintained on the coast, to protect his trading ships against the Portuguese, and the government of Surat. Siddee Jore invested Pannela closely, and a long while, but to no effect. At length Sevagi negotiated, and having made it publicly believed that he was on the point of giving it up on certain terms, went secretly out of the fort, and arriving suddenly with troops from his other stations at Dunda Rajapore, produced an order, as from Siddee Jore, for the delivery of this place, as the condition of the surrender of Pannela. His appearance

gave credit to the forgery; for it was not supposed that he could have got out of Pannela without the permission of Siddee Jore; and he was admitted into the town on the land: but the comander of the fortified island, called Gingerah, which is the valid bulwark of the harbour, entertained suspicions, and would not deliver it up.

On the loss of Rajapore, the siege of Pannela was raised, and Siddee Jore went to exculpate himself to the King, who dissembled his resentment; which the Siddee nevertheless discovered, and left Viziapore, intending to retire to his own domain. He was accompanied by the troops of his command, who were a strong body; a larger was sent in pursuit of them whom he defeated; on which the King himself took the field; but as a surer method, bought some of the officers nearest to the Siddee, who assassinated him on the night before he intended to give battle. Mean while Sevagi at Rajapore was trying all means to get possession of the fortified island; but the
governor

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governor was the heir of Siddee Jore, and from desire to revenge his death, as well as for the more splendid establishment of his own fortune, treated with the generals of Aurengzebe in Guzerat and the Decan, proffering his service with the fort of Gingerah, and the whole fleet of Viziapore. his terms were accepted, and he was appointed the Mogul's admiral, with a large stipend on the revenues of Surat, from whence he afterwards continually received succours against Sevagi. These events happened in the year 1660, and 1661, and such was the origin of the power of the SIDDEES under the Mogul. 1660.
1661.

Sevagi had scarcely thrown this confusion into the kingdom of Viziapore, when it was increased by the death of the King, leaving his son a minor, and the nobles disputing the regency. Taking advantage of these circumstances. Sevagi sent detachments to reduce the domains of Viziapore along the sea-coast of the Concan. Some places they ravaged, and levied contribution in others; of others they 1662.

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they kept possession, and scarcely met resistance in any: for the dissensions in the administration prevented succours. In the sea-ports which he intended to maintain, he encouraged, instead of suppressing, their ancient practices of piracy.

At the same time Sevagi himself, from his forts in the northern hills, issued into the plain, and on opposition from the troops of the Mogul, contrary, as he pretended, to treaty, directed his ravages against his territory, between Ad-mednagar and Aurengabad. Aurengzebe was at this time in quiet possession of the throne, having destroyed his three brothers, and reconciled the people to the imprisonment of his father: he heard with indignation these insults of the adventurer he had encouraged; such as the powers of Viziapore and Golcondah had long been deterred from attempting: and peremptory orders were sent to Chaeft Khan, the Subah of the conquered territories in the Decan, and uncle to the emperor by marriage, to extirpate Sevagi, and his adherents. The Subah
marched

marched with a multitude of troops, to the foot of the hills, and reduced most of Sevagi's out-posts without much resistance, but was stopped much longer before Chagnah, which, although on the edge of the champaign country, was a rock inaccessible to assault; and he is said to have taken it by flying a paper-kite with a lighted match at the tail, which blew up the magazine of powder; and the explosion destroyed the garrison. The season of the rains and storms in these hills and the coast below them, permits no operations abroad from the beginning of May to the latter end of August. In the next campaign the forces of the Decan were joined by those of Guzerat, under the command of the Maha Rajah Jesswont Sing, of Joudpore, on whom Aurengzebe had conferred the government of that province. Religion, power, birth, and pride, concurred to set the two Soubahs at variance, not unknown to Sevagi, who tendered his service to the Mahah Rajah to assassinate Chaeft Khan, which was accepted. The event is related different ways;

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ways; in one that Sevagi acted in person: it is certain he provided the assassins. They got into the tent of Chæst Khan after midnight, who escaped with a severe wound in his hand defending his head; but his son, rushing in to his assistance, was slain. The confusion and suspicion produced by this event, and the incapacity to which Chæst Khan was reduced by his wound, put an end to offensive operations during the rest of this campaign; and Chæst Khan returning to Delhi, the next was not opened with the return of the fair season, which gave Sevagi room to appear again abroad from his inward retreats in the hills. Nor did he lose the opportunity.

1664. The blow he meditated was against Surat. It is said he went into the city in disguise, and remained in it three days, picking up intelligence, and marking the opulent houses. To conceal his intentions, he formed two camps, one before Chaul, the other before Bassein, as if his designs were in those quarters. He then took 4000 horse from his camp at Bassein,

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Bassein, ordering the rest to continue the same watches, and music, as if their numbers were not diminished, and himself not absent. He led his party through unfrequented tracts, which he had himself examined; and appeared in sight of Surat before his approach was known. The city at this time had only one wall, and that of earth; nor were the gates of any strength. The governor of the town took refuge with him of the castle, and his example was followed by all who could gain admittance. From this terror no resistance was made in the town, but the castle fired continually after Sevagi had entered, which he disregarded; but, apprehensive of troops from Ahmedabad, remained only three days in the town. The booty he collected in treasure, jewels, and precious commodities, was estimated at a million sterling; which is not improbable, for he knew where to seek and demand them; and the annual importations of gold and silver from the gulphs of Arabia and Persia, besides what came directly from Europe, amounted at this time to 50,00,000 rupees, and two families in the

town were the richest mercantile houses in the world; there were many others of great wealth. The English and Dutch factories stood on their defence, but Sevagi gave them no molestation. This happened in 1664. January 1664.

Besides the abundance of its commerce, Surat was in high renown, as being the port through which the Mogul's subjects made the pilgrimage to Mecca, of which, in the archives of the empire, it was called the port. Aurengzebe felt the disgrace, as well as the detriment of the insult; and foresaw it might be repeated, until the city were better fortified, which required time; unless Sevagi were coerced by the strongest necessity of self defence. The whole army of the Decan invaded his territory: the conduct of the war was committed to Jysing, the Rajah of Abnir; who had a secret instruction to entice Sevagi to Delhi, but preferred the nobler exercise of the sword, until the active and obstinate resistance of Sevagi produced a solemn assurance of safety from Aurengzebe himself; on which he set out for Delhi, accompanied by a decent

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cent retinue, and his eldest son. He had formed several excellent officers, worthy of trust, and ordered them to keep up his whole force, under the usual strictness, and ready to move at his call; but forbade them to trust any letters from himself, unless confirmed by the verbal messages of particular persons whom he took with him, in appearance as menial servants. He was received by Aurengzebe with much courtesy; which continued, until the ladies of the Seraglio, incited by the wife of Chaeft Khan, in revenge for the death of her son, and the disgrace of her husband, solicited Aurengzebe, not unwilling, to destroy him. But the high Omrahs said they had no other security for their own lives, than the word of the King; and that the Hindoo Rajahs would revolt at such a breach of faith to one of their own condition. Sevagi, at the public audience, upbraided Aurengzebe with the intention, and said that he thought Chaeft Khan and Surat had taught him better the value of such a servant; then drew his dagger to stab himself, but his arm was stopt. Aurengzebe

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condescended to sooth him, repeated his first assurance of safety, and requested his service in the expedition he was preparing against Candahar. Sevagi replied, he could command no troops but his own, and was permitted to send for them. Nevertheless his dwelling and all his doings were narrowly watched. He sent his letters by his trusty messengers, who carried orders very different from the letters. His army moved into Guzerat, on the road to Delhi, and small parties, too small to create suspicion, were sent forward, one beyond another, with the fleetest horses. When the foremost reached its station, Sevagi and his son were carried out of their dwelling at night in covered baskets, such as fruit and repasts are sent in from persons of distinction to one another; and a boat, as for common passengers, was waiting at the extremity of the city. They passed the river unsuspected, when Sevagi giving the boat-man money, bid him go and tell Aurengzebe, that he had carried Sevagi and his son across the Jumna; then mounting with the first party, they set off at speed, and recrossed the

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the river at a ford lower down; after which their track and stations were thro' an unfrequented circuit to the west of the great cities, and amongst the mountains. The son, who had not yet reached his growth, emulating his father, sunk, and died in the way, of fatigue; and the father, leaving attendants to perform the obsequies of his funeral pile, pushed on until he joined his army in Guzerat; which he turned with burning vengeance against the Mogul's lands, wheresoever they were not appeased by money, or opposed by strong situations. Surat, as the most scornful defiance, Sevagi reserved to himself. A new wall was begun, but far from finished; and the inhabitants, to prevent his troops from entering the city, as well as to remove them from the manufacturing villages around, capitulated with him in his camp, for a ransom; which he did not raise to excess, as he intended to come again for more. The Rajah Jysing was again employed to oppose him, and, as before, with instructions to persuade his return to Delhi; to which Sevagi replied, that he
did

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did not think Aurengzebe such a fool, as to think him such a one, to trust himself a second time to the man who had once deceived him.

All accommodations being at an end, the Mogul troops belonging to the governments of Aurengabad and Ahmednagar, moved again to the hills of Concan, and passed the campaign at the foot of them, watchful to prevent the incursions of Sevagi into the plain country; but made few attempts on his strong holds within the mountains; nor were they solicitous to give protection to the territories on either side of them, belonging to the King of Viziapore, with whom they were at continual variance, on the account of disputed districts, or defaulting tributes. Their principal station was at the city of Jenneah, which lies under the impregnable fortrefs of the same name. Sevagi, who never preferred the fame to the utility of his exploits, determined to avoid all encounter with the Mogul troops, without certain advantage; to plunder in Viziapore, when most convenient

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nient or necessary ; but to persevere without ceasing in reducing the country between the hills and the sea.

Every success howsoever extraneous, which increased his strength, was now considered by Aurengzebe, as effectual obstacles to his own schemes of conquest in the Decan : Nor was he affected with less resentment by the spoil of his own territory, in which the bands of Sevagi, descending suddenly from the mountains, committed ravage, as it were at will ; eluding both resistance and pursuit. To reduce him by the sword was out of the question ; nor was the dagger more likely to succeed against a man, who had used it with so much subtlety and expertness ; and Aurengzebe concluding that he could only be taken in the toils of ambition, formed a plan, which, even if failing in the main end, would, like many others of his profound sagacity, operate to other intentions of his policy.

He appointed his son, Mahomed Maumzum (now become the eldest by the death of his brother in imprisonment) to the viceroyalty

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viceroyalty of the Decan, and gave him in secret conference the instruction of his conduct. The Prince marched from Delhi with a numerous and chosen army, and amongst the officers were several of whom Aurengzebe entertained suspicions. It is said that Sevagi, disguised like a peasant, waited his passage through a village near Brampore, and presented a plate of cream, which from its appearance, Mauzum ordered to be served at his meal; within was a note inclosed in wax, written by Sevagi, declaring, that curiosity had led him to view the mighty prince, who now condescended to become his antagonist in the lists of fame; expecting to acquire more from this contest than from all his former achievements. The gallantry of the defiance, if true, must have warned the Prince, (had there not been proofs before) of the dangerous resources of his intricate intrepidity.

The Mogul army spread along the foot of the hills to the north and south of Jenneah-ghur; but with such careless watch, that the bands of Sevagi made excursions

excursions through them, even to the gates of Viziapore, and returned with rich booties and impunity: much less were they interrupted in reducing the sea coast of the Concan. The Mogul soldiery murmured through envy, and criminated the indolence of their generals, who cast the blame on their prince. Aurengzebe received accounts from many hands, of the state of the army, and answered them by suspicions of his son; whom he nevertheless ordered the accusers to obey at all events, that he might discover his real intentions, which, if sinister, he reserved to himself to punish; at the same time he instructed his son, to make the vindictive displeasure of his father the plea of the revolt, which had been concerted between them before he left Delhi. And so many evidences of the Emperor's mistrust were in the camp, that few suspected the dissimulation. Jysing of Abnir commanded the auxiliary forces of the Rajahs, and Delire Khan the Mogul troops, under Sultan Mauzum. Jysing was attached to the prince, from respect

to his birth; for his mother was the daughter of a Rajah of high antiquity. He concurred in the revolt, and giving his own, not only procured the signature of all the other Rajahs in the army, but likewise induced Jeffwont Sing, of Joudpore, to promise that he would join the standards of Sultan Mauzum, when advanced as far as his country. Services which Delire Khan had rendered Aurengzebe in his wars for the throne, had only left suspicions, instead of gratitude; which had not escaped his penetration, and now in turn led him to suspect some machination of Aurengzebe in the revolt of his son; in consequence of which, he marched away with the troops of his command to Delhi, as a proof of his fidelity; which only disappointed Aurengzebe, without changing his opinion: who nevertheless ordered him to halt in Malva, as an advanced guard against the approach of Sultan Mauzum, and made preparations to march himself towards Agra.

Things being in this apparent state of commotion, Sultan Mauzum applied to
Sevagi

Sevagi for assistance, representing the motives of his revolt, and the adherents he had gained; all which Sevagi knew before by his spies; but suspected: And in order to obtain certitude from time, promised troops with his own service in person, in the day of conflict. To remove his doubts, Mauzum moved with his army from Aurengabad, towards the north; nevertheless not Sevagi from home; but waited intelligence from his emissaries at Delhi, who could discover nothing: for Aurengzebe had revealed the collusion to no one. But he appeared without anxiety in his countenance, nor were the military preparations urged with his usual activity; which decided the judgment of Sevagi. Sultan Mauzum marching onward, remonstrated to Sevagi the evil consequences of his delay to join the army; and to convince him of the reality of the revolt, formally distributed all the great employments in the empire. Sevagi answered, that the Sultan's force alone was more than sufficient to discomfit the lan-

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guid efforts of his father; but promised to guard the Decan in his absence, and in the case of his defeat, assured him of refuge in his own territory. The Sultan now began to think that Sevagi might suspect his scheme, and as a last trial, reproached him with the hazardous venture he had made, from reliance on his assistance in the hour of decision, which was now become inevitable; and offered him the post of captain general of his army and future empire. Sevagi advised him not to wait for his troops, but give battle without hesitation; if defeated, to fall back into the Decan, where he would join in maintaining the war against Aurengzebe, until the last extremity; which it is probable he would have done.

By this time the army was arrived at the river Schambal, in Malva, and Sultan Mauzum was convinced that Sevagi had discovered the snare. On which he changed his secret correspondence with his father to an open negotiation of apology, and by his order returned to Aurengabad, and continued in the government

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ment of the Decan. Jyſing died of poiſon, imputed to Aurengzebe, on his arrival at Brampore; ſeveral officers, who had been the moſt zealous in the revolt, were ſeized, and imprifoned for life; and all the others were made known to Aurengzebe; who moreover by this complicated ſtratagem, fixed, as he had foreſeen ſuch general diſtruſt on his ſon, as was likely to prevent him from gaining ſupport in any future intention of real rebellion. Theſe events cloſed with the year 1666, during which the empire was threatened with invaſion from Perſia, at this time ruled by Schah Abbas the ſecond, whoſe troops were continually repairing to Kandahar; and both ſovereigns intended to command their armies in perſon: but before either were ready, Schah Abbas died at Tauris in September 1666, and the infancy of his ſucceſſor changed the councils of Perſia to peace: nevertheless their intrigues had ſown the ſeeds of future commotions in the Mogul's empire; for ſeveral of the Pitan tribes of Piſhavar and Cabul had confederated

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federated to join the Persians; and being left by the death of the Sophy to the mercy of Aurengzebe, were punished with vindictive severity. Tumults ensued, which were quelled and revived, until time and despair united all the tribes in stedfast rebellion.

1667. Sultan Mauzum was recalled to Delhi in 1667, when the command of the Deccan devolved on Bahadar Khan, an Omrah of high birth, and little enterprize, which Aurengzebe endeavoured to supply by sending back Delire Cawn to act as his second, whom he thus removed with the appearance of favour from the hope of employment against his own countrymen the Pitans, amongst whom he could not be trusted. Both the generals were enjoined to exert their utmost efforts in repressing Sevagi, who was continually gaining ground.

The Concan is that region, which extends along the western coast of India from the territory of Goa to Daman, in length 240 miles. The vast range of hills which accompanies the sea coast, and
always

always in sight of it from Cape Com-
erin to Daman is called the GAUTS,
an Indian word which signifies passages.
This chain, never more than 50, or less
than 30 miles from the sea, has in its
whole extent very few passes which open
into the inland country by windings a-
mongst the mountains which diminish
the abruptness of the ascent. In all other
parts, and especially in the Concan the
whole chain seems one connected wall,
to the summit of which every path has
been hewn by the hand of man, and ne-
vertheless is not to be ascended even by
the single foot of the traveller without
the fatigue of hours. The eastern side of
the ridge is not so steep, neither is it so
high; because the level of the coast
lies much lower than the level of the in-
land country, which nevertheless continues
breaking for many miles from the foot of
the Gauts into seperate mountains, of
which several nearly vie in heighth with
the Gauts themselves. The sea coast is
intersected

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1667. intersected by many rivers, all of which descend from the Gauts.

Sevagi was at this time in possession of all the ridge in the extent from Rajapore to Daman ; besides which he had several detached fortresses of great strength to the eastward : Pannela, between Pondah and Viziapore, Saler Moler on the Tapti east of Surat, Rari 30 miles to the south of Jenneah Gur, and like it, an extensive fortification on the table of a very high rock. At this place he fixed his treasury, and the residence of his court. Excepting Chaul, which continued to the Portuguese, he was in possession of the sea coast from the river of Rajapore to the river Penn, which flows into the harbour of BOMBAY.

This island had been ceded to the crown of England in 1662, as the dowry of Katherine, princess of Portugal, on her marriage with CHARLES the 2d, who sent a squadron with a regiment to take possession, accompanied by a new Vice Roy of Goa to effect the surrender ; but the Portuguese gentry, amongst whom the
lands

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lands of the island were divided, pretended that the terms of cession were contrary to their rights, and being abetted in their cavils by their connexions at Bassein and Goa, refused to acknowledge the Vice Roy, if he persisted. On this the armament went to the road of Swally, where the troops landed, and alarmed the governor of Surat so much, that he threatened to destroy the English factory in the city, which at this time was the presidency of all their settlements in India. The armament therefore sailed away to the island of Anchidiva, near Goa, where they continued negotiating until one half of the troops and seamen died through the inclemency of the climate; and amongst them Sir Andrew Shipman, who had been appointed to govern Bombay. His secretary Cook, presuming on some delegation of powers, concluded a treaty with the council of Goa, very derogatory from the rights granted by the crown of Portugal. This treaty was executed on the 14th of January 1665, and soon after the remains of the armament sailed

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to Bombay, and were permitted to take possession. However the treaty was disavowed in England, and Sir Samuel Lucas was appointed governor, still for the crown; but King Charles soon tired of the expence, and granted the island to the East India company, with extraordinary privileges, by a charter dated the 27th of March 1668; when the company appointed commissioners to govern it under the controul of the presidency of Surat.

The tract of land on the main, which extends from Tull, the south point of the harbour, to the river Pen, which lies deep within the bay, is extremely fertile, and was called the CORLAHS, meaning [districts; from which Sevagi permitted the new settlers to draw provisions, and treated them as welcome customers whilst they continued defenceless: Neither side seem to have had any competent notion of the value, of what the one had acquired, and the other had neglected to get possession.

It was near 13 years since Sevagi had gained the town of Dunda Rajapore, from

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from whence he had every year opened batteries against the fortified island of Gingerah, which stands within half a mile of the shore: but the Siddee kept Gallivats under the walls and ships in the harbour, which Sevagi had not vessels to withstand, and therefore could never venture to transport his troops to the assault.

The Mogul's generals established their principal incampment at Jenneah-ghur, which since Sevagi had fixed his residence at Raires, became still more the proper situation to watch his excursions either towards Surat or Aurengabad; but he continued to elude their vigilance, and at the end of 1669 appeared suddenly at the head of his army before Surat: a part of the wall still remained unfinished, at which his troops entered with little resistance; and the governor of the town pretending surprise retired into the castle. Every house which did not pay competent ransom was plundered, but the English and Dutch factories were exempted, as in 1764, from either molestation or demand. The booty was regularly collected, and carried to

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Rairee. The governor was suspected of connivance, and soon after died suddenly of poyson, administered, it is said, by the order of Aurengzebe, who could scarcely have recurred to such means of removing one of his own officers, but from the apprehension of his escape, if apprized by usual warning.

The insult exasperated Aurengzebe as much as the former sack of 1664: he renewed his injunctions of exertion to his generals, and reinforcements were ordered to join them even from the province of Behar; probably because none nearer to the person of the emperor could be spared, from his reserves for the war of the Pitans. But as a surer means of confining Sevagi to his own defence, he ordered vessels to be built in the ports of Surat and Cambay, which were to carry troops, and make descents on the shores of the Concan, in conjunction with the fleet commanded by the Siddee.

These preparations only encreased the exertions of Sevagi to extend his conquests along the coast. In 1670 he sent a
1670. lagre

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large detachment to attack the town of Rajapore; which is situated on a fine river, 40 miles to the south of Gheriah, and had long been, as at this time, a very frequented port, immediately belonging to the King of Viziapore. Resistance was made even in the field; but the town was carried, and all kind of property, although much belonged to the trade of states, with whom Sevagi had no quarrel, was plundered without remission or distinction. The English at this time had a factory in the town, and estimated their loss at 10,000 pagodas.

In the beginning of 1671, he appeared again before Surat, ravaging and plundering until the city paid him a large contribution in money. We find him at Rairee in December, and his agent at the same time at Bombay treating about a compensation for the loss, which the company had sustained at Rajapore.

In the beginning of the ensuing year 1672, Delhire Khan took a strong fort called Pinna Chaukna in Sevagi's upper or northern country, and put all the males above 9 years of age to the sword: Sevagi

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vagi immediately called troops from all his garrisons, giving out that he intended to offer Delhire Khan battle, who although he had 60000 horse, was deceived by invented reports, and waited in expectation of the encounter at Jenneah, until he heard that Sevagi had marched round 40 miles to the north with a large convoy of provisions, and had effected his real purpose of victualling Saler Moler; from whence he returned, again out of the reach of Dilere Chan, to Rairee, where he arrived in February; and immediately came down the Gauts to Decir; when it was believed, that he designed to proceed to Surat; but, as he never did the thing he seemed to mean, went back to Rairee. Soon after the rains and stormy season set in, during which operations in the field are generally precluded until the end of September; but in the month of July Sevagi came down the Gauts again with his army, and advancing from Decir along the lower mountains, sent forward his general Morah Pundit with 10000 horse to Surat, intending to burn the fleet which had been built by the Mogul's order,

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der, and was assembled in the river ready to sail with the Siddee's, as soon as the season would permit. It would have saved a double march if he had made the attempt on Surat immediately after he had victualled Saler Molier; but the city, as well as the camp at Jenneah, had taken the alarm; and by desisting at that time, and again, when he came down the Gauts before the rains, he prevented all suspicion of his intention at this adverse season.

Whilst waiting the result of Morah Pundits expedition, Sevagi himself continued with the rest of his force in the territory of Gour and Rhamnagur, which bordered on the districts of the Portuguese at Damaun, and belonged to two petty Rajahs, who had allowed and concealed his march when he surprised Surat in 1664 and afterwards whensoever required. These services had been requited with money and attentions: and now as a compliment, Sevagi tendered a visit to the Rajah of Ramnagur in his fort; and being admitted, seized, and kept possession

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session of it; saying that it was inconvenient to trust him any longer with the key of his treasury; for such he was wont to call Surat. The stations in the mountains were the only value of the territory belonging to the Rajah's; to whom the low land of the Portuguese paid tribute for refraining from the plunder of its harvests. Sevagi sent a body of troops, who having sufficiently displayed themselves, halted quietly at the barrier of Daman, where their appearance, as it was intended to try, raised the utmost consternation; for although a regular fortification, nothing was in readiness for defence. After some guns had been hauled up from the ditches to the bastions, an officer was sent to enquire the intention of Sevagi's, who answered that he was an ambassador come to establish the same tribute, which used to be paid to the Rajahs.

At this time Sultan Mauzum, had returned to Aurengabad, entrusted again with the supreme command of the Deccan, although immediately after his release

release from a confinement of two years, inflicted for causes not mentioned; but probably from discoveries, which left doubts whether he would not have revolted in earnest, if Sevagi, when invited, had joined him in 1666. The continuance of Delire Khan in his command after the return of Sultan Mauzum, seems to authorize the notion; which the restoration of Sultan Mauzum does not contradict; since it was consonant with the deep and undaunted policy of Aurengzebe, to trust whom he suspected, with means which might tempt the venture; and a persuasion prevailed in the country that the Sultan was in intelligence with Sevagi on his arrival. 1672.

Morah Pundit failed in the intention of burning the king's vessels, which rode under the protection of the Siddee's ships, and of the castle; but he closely beset the town, and stopped all access, whether of trade or provisions. The new governor, was a dependant on Sultan Mauzum; for in Indostan the connexion between the patron and client last through life, unless

F dissolved

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1672. dissolved by permission, or treachery. Morah Pundit demanded an exorbitant ransom from the town, it was supposed by the governor's advice, who used the pretence to levy extravagant sums, even by violence; which with the continuance of the distresses from the enemy without, were intended, it was thought with the approbation of Sultan Mauzum, to drive the inhabitants in despair to open their gates to Sevagi. However as soon as the season permitted the fleets to put to sea, Morah Pundit compromised for the retreat of his army, at much less than his first demands: but the sum was still great, and the governor reserved more of what he had collected, for himself.

Sevagi in the mean time was looking out another way. England and France were at this period united in war against the States of Holland. In the beginning of the year 1672 the fleet which M. De La Haye brought from France, sailed from Surat to make an establishment in the bay of Trincomalee, where they were opposed by a larger fleet of the Dutch,

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Dutch, commanded by Rickloff Van Goen, the governor of Ceylon. Mr. De La Haye leaving a part of his troops to maintain the works he had raised in the bay, sailed to the coast of Coromandel, and receiving some insulting answers from the Moorish governor of San Thomi, landed and carried the town by assault, which at that time belonged to the king of Golcondah, whose forces had taken it thirteen years before from the Portuguese; and the conquest as from Europeans, had been proudly rated. All the stationed forces of the province from Nellore to Sadrafs assembled to retake it, advanced aukwardly, and the king prepared to send a better army, as soon as the season should permit in December. Sevagi received intelligence of these events and intentions from his emissaries at Golcondah and in the Carnatic; and in the month of November went off from Rairee with 10000 horse. No one knew whither the storm was directed: it was expected at Viziapore, Ahmednagur, and even at Aurengabad, when he appeared almost

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1672. as soon as the news of his approach at Glcondah. The adjacent city of Hyderabad was at this time open, but very populous, and the resort of much opulence ; he threatened to lay it in ashes, if he were not immediately paid two millions of pagodas ; it is said that the demand was complied with, but we cannot believe to the extent. With the collection he returned to Rairee as rapidly as he had come ; and without interruption, although Sultan Mauzum was at this time advancing from Aurengabad, on a visitation to the king of Golcondah, from whom he intended to draw an offering to the Mogul. Still to add to the boldness of Sevagi's excursion, he left his coasts at this time threatened by the fleets from Surat, which anchored off the island of Bombay, at the end of October, and asked permission to come into the harbour, intending to lay waste the Corlahs of Sevagi, but were refused admittance by the president Angier, who had lately come from Surat to regulate the doubtful state of the island : On which the fleets sail'd to Dunda Rajapore,

japore, routed the attack on Gingerah, which continued from the shore, and destroyed several of Sevagi's vessels in the harbour; from whence they proceeded down the coast, landing in several creeks and rivers, in which they burnt the towns and vessels; but all this ruin was, at least in pecuniary value, more than compensated, by the money which Sevagi got at Golcondah. The Siddees returning haughtily from this expedition, now came into the harbour of Bombay, without asking leave, on the 24th of December; and were received with constrained civility. The Siddee urged an alliance against Sevagi, whose agent on the island threatened an invasion as the consequence. The Siddee seemed to acquiesce to the dilemma; which left the English no choice but strict neutrality; and after a month stay departed for Surat so well satisfied with his reception; that he promised by his faith on the Alcoran, never to commit hostilities on the Corlahs of Sevagi; if he should at any time hereafter be admitted into the harbour. But his people, with

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1672. with the habitual insolence of the Moors, especially in the service of the Mogul, burnt, as they went away, several of the houses in the town of Mazagen, which had been allotted for their resort during their stay. We find nothing more concerning Sevagi and his state in the course of the year 1672.

1673. The Dutch commodore Richloff Van Goen, who had opposed Mr. De la Haye at Trinconomalie, came in the beginning of the next year, from Ceylon to the coast of Malabar, with 22 ships, having on board 1000 regular troops. They proceeded to the northward, but advanced slowly, in order to display their force to the ports and princes of the coast. The intention of the armament was to attack Bombay, and Richloff sent forward a negotiation with Sevagi for the assistance of 3000 of his men from the main: offering in return the assistance of his fleet in the reduction of Gingerah; but Sevagi had concerted another enterprize which precluded this, although solicitous to him; and Richloff having waited some time for his

his answer, sailed on towards Bombay, 1673. without the assurances he expected.

These delays gave warning equal to the alarm. Five French ships had come into the harbour from Persia on the 28th of December, and two days after sailed to Surat, where 4 of them were lying, when the certainty of Richloff's approach was known, and immediately returned to Bombay, under the command of Mr. Baron the French director, seeking and bringing protection. There were in the harbour a Dutch prize and two frigates with three sloops lately built by the company to protect their trade from the Malabar pirates, who ranged at this time from Callicut to Surat. The English president Mr. Angier exerted himself with the calmness of a philosopher, and the courage of a centurion. He assembled, and as far as the time allowed, disciplined the militia, which Christian and Pagan were 1500 men, all equally black: the genuine European military were 400. Of these troops he took the immediate command, as well as of the whole defence.

The

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1673. The French ships and the company's vessels were stationed close to the shore, leaving proper openings for the cannon of the fort.

Rochloff stood into the harbour in the night of the 20th of February, but kept at the bottom of the bay. The next day he came near enough to examine the dispositions of the defence, and then stood out to the western side of the island, off which his fleet kept plying and sounding for two days, and at length threatened a descent in the channel of Mahim, which separates the north side of the island from Salcette. Mr. Angier marched thither with the troops, and displayed them in defiance along the shore; and Richloff was discouraged, although he had 6000 Europeans on board his fleet. He sailed for Surat, from whence 4 ships belonging to the English company, and richly laden, had been dispatched for England before his arrival.

Sevagi, who had been as it were a spectator from his shores, of the contest amongst the three European nations, commenced

commenced soon after the expedition he had in contemplation. The king of Viziapore died in December, and the general Bullal Khan gave the diadem to a prince, who although of the family, was not the heir of the throne. The election discontented several governors of provinces, who were abetted by Sevagi, and not unwilling to see the aversion against the administration increased by the detriments of his hostilities; who accordingly sent off an army to the country on the eastern side of the mountains at the back of Carwar and Goa, which abounded in manufacturing villages under many towns of mart, which traded with the capital and the sea. Sevagi's troops destroyed every thing they did not carry away. Their booty was great, but in no one place so valuable, as at Hubely, where they found a great store of cloth for exportation, and all kinds of imported commodities, of which Hubely was the deposite. The country resounded with the caravans of plunder, which were continually coming, and discharged at Rairee.

1673.

1673. Sevagi himself soon after returned thither to make the most of his booty, and to appropriate the produce to his treasury; but he brought back with him farther schemes against Viziapore, and left behind clandestine means of accomplishing them.

Excepting the territory belonging to the the Portugueze at Goa, the sea coast with the country west of the mountains, from Rajapore to Mirzeou south of Carwar, still belonged to the king of Viziapore; some parts in immediate sovereignty, others through the hereditary vassalage of several Rajahs, and more chiefs of lesser note, called Desoys. The most considerable of these Indian principalities was the territory of Sundah; and of the immediate governments, Carwar. Sevagi, during his late incursion on the other side the mountains, sent letters, emissaries, and money, to all these dependants on Viziapore, or to their officers, inciting them to rebel and promising his assistance.

The English company, as before at the taking of Rajapore, had lost effects to a considerable

considerable value in the sack of Hubely. 1673.
 They had long been negotiating for compensation of the former damage. It happened in May, about the time Sevagi returned to Rairee, that the Moguls and Siddee's fleet from Surat, anchored off Bombay, and required permission to pass the impending moonsoon in the harbour. This opportunity was taken to send an Englishman again to renew the Rajapore demand, adding to it the new damage of Hubely. Sevagi promised immediate satisfaction, and every advantage, which his dominions could afford, if they would treat the Siddee as an enemy, and assist in reducing Gingerah. But nothing at this time acquirable in India, could have compensated the company's trade at Surat, which placed their fortune in the power of the Mogul; and in deference to this danger the president Angier, permitted the four principal frigates of the Mogul's fleet, to be hauled in shore under the care and protection of the garrison; but suffered none of the crews to stay with them, and utterly refused any of the rest, or

1673. of the Siddee's fleet, either vessels or men, to remain in the harbour, or island, who accordingly went away in much discontent, to get much less convenient shelter at Gingerah. Sevagi approved this conduct, and promised a speedy adjustment of the Rajapore claim; but said he knew of nothing taken at Hubely, beyond the list produced by his officers, which consisted of a parcel of furniture and trumpery valued at two hundred pagodas, whereas the real loss exceeded eight thousand. He however pressed the English to settle again at Rajapore, with which they soon after complied; and to sell him a great many cannon for the equipment of his fleet, which they evaded.

The seas were left to the storms and tempests of the season, and the mountains to their thunders, and Sevagi; who impatiently waited other signals than the elements, to appear abroad, which happened in the beginning of July, by the open revolt of the Phoufdar or governor of Carwar, who seized all the subordinate officers of his jurisdiction, whom he suspected

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suspected of loyalty to his sovereign of 1673.
Viziapore; then attacked such of the De-
soys as refused to join him, and admitting
no neutrality, took what stragglers or
property he found unprotected belonging
to the Portuguese at Goa; and even besieged
the English factory at Carwar, because
they refused to supply him with arms and
money. Eight thousand horse set off from
Viziapore, (the fear of the Mogul's army
prevented more) and waited at the foot
of the mountains, to pass against the
rebel. Sevagi, whose intelligence was as
quick as his views, was prepared to take
advantage of this confusion, and directed
his force from various quarters, where
they had been stationed with this inten-
tion, and invested the strong and import-
ant fortress of Satarah, which stands on
the western side of the ridge, but itself
on a mountain, surrounded by many o-
thers, which with the weather secured
his circumvallation. No assistance came
from Viziapore, and the place surren-
dered towards the end of August, it was
the depository and refuge of much opu-
lence

1673. lence and treasure. The silver, gold, jewels, and all the other plunder of value, were brought with ostentation to Rairee. Immediately after this expedition much bustle ensued by the motion and change of troops from one station to another, and twenty thousand wallets were prepared at Rairee, as if to bring away the plunder of some city. The report of the wallets turned the attention of the Moguls army to the protection of Surat, and quieted the apprehensions of Viziapore, concerning Sevagi's intention to succour the rebels of Carwar. But both were deceived, for in the beginning of October 25000 men marching over different passes of the Gauts, and by various routs within them, suddenly united and invested the fortress of Pondah, which was situated 300 miles from Rairee, and 40 s. w. of Goa. It stood on the plain near the foot of the Gauts, and commanded the approach to the most frequented pass leading from the coast of Sundah and Goa, to the inland of Viziapore; whose troops engaged against the rebels of Carwar immediately retired
over

over the Gauts by other passes, leaving nothing to interrupt the siege of Pondah; which from its situation alone was capable of long defence against such modes of attack, as were in those days of usage in India, and which even the genius of Sevagi had but little improved. He had previously purchased 80 pieces of cannon, and lead sufficient for all his matchlocks from the French director at Surat, who had sent them to Rajapore, and they were brought as requisite to the camp at Pondah. The Siddee's fleet which had wintered under Gingerah, and the Moguls frigates, which had been hauled on shore at Bombay, put to sea on the return of the fair season, and cruising down the coast took many vessels of trade and some of war belonging to Sevagi, and his country; and others by wilfull mistake, which, as neutrals, the Siddee was bound to protect. On the 10th of October the fleets without message or warning came again into the harbour of Bombay, and keeping at the bottom of the bay, landed at the rivers Penn and Negotan, in the Corlahs

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1673. lahs of Sevagi, which they laid waste, with much unnecessary bloodshed, and brought away many of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, to be sold for slaves. Bombay at this time drew all its provisions from these Corlahs; for the Portugeze, who had ever since the surrender of the island regarded the English establishment with malice, had lately upon some disputes about duties, stopt all supplies from Salcette. Mr. Angier remonstrated to the governor of Surat, as well as to the Siddee, against the violation of the harbour, of the Mogul's protection, and of the Siddee's oath; and represented the risques to which the island was exposed from the resentment of Sevagi in return for their deference to the Mogul, by giving shelter to his fleets. But no arguments availed, and Mr. Angier restrained his indignation, from sinking the Siddee's ships when they insolently anchored before the fort, On which the Siddee renewed his depredations in the Corlahs: But after some days, troops arrived from Rairee, who surprised 100

of the Siddee's, and cut every one of them to pieces without mercy. Soon after came down more, which compleated 3000, who acted in conjunction, with council and vigilance. The Siddee landed the best part of his force, to try their strength, of which he was not well informed, and his troops were defeated with considerable loss. On this he recalled his smaller vessels from the mouths of the rivers, to the shores of Bombay, where making a merit of fear, he promised to desist from farther hostilities in the harbour; and in December went away with the whole fleet to cruize at sea: where meeting with little success, he returned to Surat, and demanded money of the governor for the great expence of his exploits; which set them a quarrelling.

1673.

The opening of the ensuing year found Sevagi still lying before the castle of Pondah, on which his artillery had made so little impression, that he compounded with the governor, to leave him unmolested in the castle with its district, on

1674.

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condition

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1674. condition that he should give no interruption to Sevagi's troops in maintaining the adjoining pass over the mountains, against the troops of Viziapore. Sevagi in this invasion reduced all the coast, from Rajapore, to the island of Bardez which belonged to the Portugueze, and was separated only by the harbour from the city and island of Goa. The city was not a little alarmed by the neighbourhood of Sevagi's operations, which greatly distressed their trade, and markets: nevertheless, not attacked, they refrained from acting offensively; for the sword of their ancient valour, had long cankered in its spoils.

Sevagi leaving sufficient force to maintain these new acquisitions, returned to Raïree, in the beginning of April, so well satisfied with his success, that he ordered preparations for his enthronement as a Rajah or Hindoo sovereign: He had long been entirely independant of any other power; but the ceremony sanctified by the bramins, was intended not only to insult the Mogul, and the two other mahomedan

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medan kings with whom he was at war; but especially to authenticate to his own people, his title, and the succession, as king of the Morattoe nation: of whose ancient territory, long divided into many portions of foreign yoke, he had now gathered the greatest part into one state, under his own authority: for the Morattoe language extends along the coast from the island of Bardez, to the river Taptti, of which Chaul, Bacain, and Damacen belonging to the Portugueze, and Surat to the Moors, were the only districts under other jurisdiction, and even to these he asserted right: on the other side of the mountains he had likewise conquered much of the ancient Morattoe country, and intended to comprize the whole under his dominion.

Although incensed by the late devastations of the Siddee, Sevagi was satisfied with Mr. Angier's endeavours to prevent them, and repeating his former request for cannon, invited an ambassador to settle former differences; but unluckily at this juncture, letters and messengers were

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1674. continually coming from the governor of Surat, requesting that the Siddee's fleet might pass the approaching monsoon in the harbour; on which Sevagi threatened the effectual vengeance of assisting the Dutch fleet with 10000 men to attack the island.

This fleet had returned from Surat to the coast of Coromandel, where in August, they met near Metchlepatam, a fleet of ten East India-men just arrived from England; which notwithstanding the superiority of Richloff's, which were twenty-two ships, would not, as they might, avoid the encounter; which was, nevertheless, maintained with obstinacy by only three of them; of which, two dismasted were taken, and the other ran ashore, rather than strike. Richloff soon after sailed to Ceylon, and in the beginning of this year came again on the coast of Malabar; and was advancing to the northward, sending forward reports of his intention to reduce Bombay, in which he had failed the year before.

This perplexity was increased by the appearance of the Siddee's fleet, which anchored

anchored off the entrance of the harbour, 1674.
on the 24th of April. The same evening
arose a violent gale of wind, which (had
they not intended) would have forced
them to seek shelter under the Island.
As soon as the weather abated, they
were requested to depart; instead of
which, a great number of boats rowed
up in the channel which divides the island
from the main: and landed at the north
east point in the town of Sion, out of
which they drove the inhabitants, and
took possession of their houses, intending
to establish their quarters here, during
the monsoon; but were driven out, by a
frigate and part of the garrison. Soon after
boats with 500 men in armed array, endea-
voured to land at Mazagong, the former
station of their residence; but were beaten
back by the fire of cannon from the shore.
These exertions had been encouraged by
news that the Dutch fleet with Rickloff
had separated at Vingorlah, some going
to Surat, others to Persia, others back to
Ceylon. It was then agreed, that only
300 men of the Siddees should continue
on

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1674. on shore at a time, without other arms than their swords, and under the watch of guards from the garrison; and that this permission should cease if they infested the Corlahs. The agent of Sevagi was at this time on the island negotiating a treaty, and representing what he had seen with integrity, Sevagi agreed to receive the embassy.

Mr. Henry Oxenden was deputed, and Sevagi received his visit of compliment with politeness, but referred him to his ministers for the completion of the treaty, and afterwards employed himself for a month in purifications and other religious ceremonies dictated by his bramins, as necessary preparations for his enthronement; previous to which, he was publicly weighed against gold, and the sum amounting to 16000 pagodas, was given to the bramins. The ceremony of the enthronement was magnificent, and imitated the Moguls. At the conclusion of the festivals 100000 pagodas more were distributed amongst the bramins, and to the same amount in rewards to officers. Soon after

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after the ministers concluded the treaty with Mr. Oxenden, admitting 18 of 20 articles proposed. Of the two rejected, one was the currency of Bombay money in Sevagi's dominions, which was made inconsiderately, because implying at least a partial controul of his treasury: Sevagi nevertheless dismissed it mildly, saying that he could not compel his subjects to take foreign money, but according to their own judgment. The other, was the exemption of English wrecks on his coast, which he said had been the property of the sovereigns from time immemorial, and if yielded to the English would be demanded by the other European nations. In the articles admitted, were comprized sufficient terms of amity and commerce, but no alliance: by a separate article Sevagi allowed 10000 pagodas for the damages sustained seven years before at Rajapore, one half to be paid in ready money, the other in beetle and coco nuts, to be delivered there; but agreed to nothing for the loss at Hubely.

Mr. Oxenden tendered the mediation of Bombay, to make peace between him
and

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1674. and the Siddees, which, it should seem, neither Bombay could guarantee, nor the Siddee accept, without utter offence to the Mogul: Sevagi said that Gingerah had cost him too dear to relinquish the intention of reducing it, and at this time a body of his troops were renewing batteries against it from the shore; in which mode they had for fifteen years, been endeavouring without success, what three ships of war would have accomplished in three hours. Embassadors from Viziapore had likewise followed Sevagi from Pondah, proposing an alliance against the Mogul, who threatened Viziapore as conniving at the successes of Sevagi, even in their own territory. The embassadors were detained until the season of action approached, when Sevagi dismissed them, saying he was sufficient to his own defence.

In the beginning of August, his general Morah Pundit came down the Gauts with 10000 men, and quartered in the ruined town of Gallian, opposite to the island of Salcette, from hence, whilst report
terrified

terrified Surat and awed the Siddee's fleet 1674²
 in the harbour of Bombay, messengers
 were sent to Bassein, demanding the chout
 of all the Portuguese territory in these
 parts. The chout means the fourth part
 of the revenue, and this is the earliest
 mention we find of the claim, of which
 we have not hitherto been able to disco-
 ver either the right or origin, but sup-
 pose it wheresoever demanded, to arise
 from some pretension that the territory
 in ancient times belonged to a Rajpoot
 or Morrattoe sovereignty. But enmity
 was the cause of the demand at present ;
 for the Portuguese had lately inflicted
 great severities on many families of the
 Morrattoe religion within their districts,
 because they refused to become Christians,
 and this time of retaliation by requiring
 them to become tributaries, seems to
 have been expressly chosen ; for the Por-
 tugueze had lately endured without re-
 sistance a much greater insult from a
 much inferior force.

The armada which used to cruise every
 year from Goa to assert the sovereignty

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1674. of the Indian seas, had the year before crossed over to the gulph of Persia where they plundered several ships, which had not taken their passes, and then proceeded to the port of Muscat, with which they had long been at continual war: but not chusing to risque their ships against the castles that defend the entrance of the harbour, they landed without, and ravaged to the walls. They sailed away on their return to Goa, in the middle of October; and the Imaum, or prince, as soon as they were gone, equipped ten, the stoutest of the merchant ships of his port; which, in December, near Diu, fell in with a fleet of grain vessels escorted by several Portuguese grabs and gallivats, of which they took and destroyed the greatest part, and then sailed down to Bassein; where in the beginning of February they landed 600 Arabs, who spread themselves, and plundered all the churches and country seats around, refraining from no cruelty or violation. The garrison of Bassein exceeded the number of Arabs, who had landed; but continued panick struck within their walls, until they were gone. And this pusillanimity

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fillanimity exposed them to the contempt of all their neighbours. We do not find what submission the governor of Bassein made to the demand of Morah Pundit, who waiting the farther intentions of Sevagi, lived on the Portugueze country, but avoided outrage in the exaction of provisions. 1674.

The continuance of Morah Pundit's force at Gallian hastened the departure of the Siddee's fleet, for fear of being burnt in the harbour with the connivance of the government of Bombay, towards which they carried themselves with more respect than in their former sojournments. They sailed in the beginning of September. More troops were continually coming down the Gaut, and on the 5th of October, Sevagi came himself, to review them, amounting in equal numbers of horse and foot to 25000 men, which a few days after went up the hill, towards Jenneah, with no other artillery than iron crows and pickaxes.

It was soon evident that Sevagi in person was in the field: he fell upon the Mogul's camp, although consisting of 40000 horse, and effected tenfold more rout

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1674. than his own loss; his parties spread to unexpected distances, and committed every kind of ravage, burning the villages, destroying the productions of the soil, and carrying off the affluent commerce of the high roads, by which seven cities resort to Surat; which barricaded its gates: one detachment pushed to the walls of Brampore, plundering all the opulent marts of cloth between this city and Aurrengabad. Sevagi in the mean time hovered about the rock of Jenneah, and formed a scheme to surprize it. Two men of the party got to the summit, and were discovered, when the usual defence of rolling down the stones piled for the purpose dispersed the rest. The sudden junction and separation of the different parties abroad, bewildered and intimidated the pursuit of the Mogul's troops, from uncertainty of their routs and numbers; so that little of the spoil was abandoned in the retreat. As soon as all had rejoined the standard, Sevagi returned with the whole to Rairee, where he arrived in the month of February 1675, and immediately entered upon another expedition, for which

which preparations had been making during his absence. 1675.

Bombay was at this time relieved from the apprehension of farther attempts from the Dutch, by the peace concluded with Holland in February of the preceeding year; of which the advices had arrived in October; but in this interval Madrafs had been threatened by Rickloff Van Goen, who had joined the forces of Golcondah with 1000 Europeans, against S. Thomé; which they reduced M. de la Haye to surrender in September, after a defence of 2 years and 3 months maintained through continual loss with unabated vigour. The king of Golcondah refused to give the place to Rickloff, who equally disappointed by the peace in his intentions against Madrafs, had only removed its most dangerous rival. Soon after the Dutch revenged in some measure the injuries which the European commerce had lately sustained from the avaritious governor of Surat. Where in the beginning of the year 1675, whilst Sevagi's troops were at the gates, arrived in the road 7 Dutch ships of war, which seized all the ships of

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1675. of the port, and detained them from their voyages, until the government submitted to the compensation required. The Sid-dee's fleet which sailed from Bombay in September, had proceeded to Surat, but left it in fear before the Dutch arrived there; after which they continued cruising along Sevagi's coasts, with little success: for his fighting vessels were hauled ashore, waiting until reinforced to a more equal match, by such as were building, and all traders had been warned to keep in port. Nor had the Siddee's been more successful in quelling the cannonade against Gingerah; from whence they came to Bombay in February, distressed with every want, and soon after proceeded to Surat, where they continued through the ensuing monsoon.

By this time the rebellion of the Pitans of Pishavir and Cabul had become the most solicitous concern of the empire. Some successes obtained over detached parties in the year 1673, induced the Mogul Governor of Pishavir to pass the Indus with all his army, intending to force their strong

strong holds in the mountains, but the Pitans inclosed the army amongst the defiles, and destroyed the whole, with their commander. Not having despaired of the chance of such a success, they had prepared a king, whom they proclaimed, not only as sovereign of their own tribes, but of the whole empire. 1675.

It is well known that in the contention of Aurengzebe for the throne, his brother, the Sultan Sujah, who as well as Darah had the priority of birth, was defeated and driven out of Bengal by the general Emir Jumlah. According to the prevalent report of the time, he was murdered with his family and followers by a Rajah, on the confines of Arracan; but as his head had never been produced, nor the fact vouched by any persons who knew him before his flight, some credit was given to other reports, that he had escaped; which is believed, as we are informed, in the island of Soolo, far from Arracan and Bengal, where his tomb is shewn at this day. This uncertainty of his fate, furnished credulity and intrigue with

1675. with pretensions to assert, that he continued alive in Indostan, concealed now here, now there; but ready to appear on any favourable opportunity of asserting his right to the throne. Aurengzebe was convinced of his death, but was very attentive to the use which might be made of the reports of his being alive.

A Pitau soldier had served in the army of Sultan Sujah, and bore such resemblance to him in countenance and figure, that they might, under similar ornaments, have been mistaken for one another. It is said, that he had acquired the imitation of his manners and deportment, and with less probability that he had apprised himself of many minute particulars of his life; it is not unlikely that glimpses of this apparition had given rise to the reports that Sujah himself was still alive. The Pitans produced this adventurer with ostentatious respect as king of Indostan, and all the tribes were summoned to march with him to Delhi.

The whole nation could bring 150,000 fighting men into the field, and had they
been

been united, could never have been reduced by the Moguls; to whom they always paid malignant submission: and the general character of the people (who, as by nature craving, arrogant, and cruel, are by principle treacherous, revengeful, and void of gratitude.) rendered it unsafe to conciliate their leaders by high appointments, of which the denial encreased the national antipathy. The news of such an enemy supporting a pretender to the throne, agitated the very palace of the monarch, and the ambition of distant conquest yielded to the vital danger of rebellion. 1675.

Aurengzebe pitched his tent, and displayed the standard of the empire, to which all its banners repaired with the indispensable alacrity of which he set the example. The whole under his own immediate conduct, marched from Delhi, as near as we can combine in April 1674, and crossed the Indus at the end of the year. On his departure Sultan Mauzum was recalled to preside in the capital, and had performed nothing remarkable during

K ring

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1675. ring this his second administration of the Decan, excepting the levy of a large sum of money from the king of Golcondah, in 1672, immediately after Sevagi had exacted a more excessive contribution.

The governor of Pondah kept no regard to his terms, as soon as Sevagi was engaged in distant hostilities; but renewed his dependance on Viziapore; which Sevagi determined to revenge; and as soon as he returned from ravaging the Mogul's territory, gave the general Bahadur Caun, who ought to have protected it better, a large bribe out of the plunder, for a cessation of hostilities until Pondah should be reduced. Troops had marched and invested the place before Sevagi's return, but although active their numbers were insufficient: twenty thousand more were sent, and Sevagi himself followed in the month of March, visiting Rajapore in the way, where he kept his magazines of war for his southern territories in the Concan: great loss was sustained in the siege, which we find spoken of famously; the place

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place was taken at the end of April, but we are uncertain whether by treachery, assault, or surrender. He then attacked the neighbouring territory of Sundah, in which were several strong forts, whose garrisons resisted with no other effect than to increase the miseries of the country, and their own. The town of Carwar was burnt, because the castle did not surrender on the first summons: Sevagi in person gave the order; but received the English factors with civility, and exempted the factory from violence: The whole country was reduced as far as to the river Mirzeou, which is the northern limit of the kingdom of Canara. The queen of this country sent gifts, and solicited the assistance of Sevagi, against some of her ministers and relations. The Portuguese at Goa were hemmed within their own districts, and as before, not suffered to get provisions from the adjacent country. The operations continued through the rains, and detained Sevagi himself from Rairee until the end of August.

Aurengzebe was at this time returned

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1675. from the Indus to Delhi, and assailed as it were, by the clamours of the Decan, made severe reproaches to his general Bahadur Caun, urging the utmost exertions, which Sevagi expected and defied; reinforcing his batteries against Gingerah, and sending parties to scour the country about Surat, where the governor had received the same injunctions as Bahadur, and strengthened the Siddee's fleet with two large ships, two frigates, and two thousand men: nevertheless, with the usual dilatoriness, even when in earnest, it was the middle of November before either the fleet or the army were in motion to purpose, when a large detachment forced through the passes in the ridge, and encamped at Gallian; and at the same time the fleet arrived in the harbour of Bombay, from whence they sent a reinforcement to the camp, and then sailed down the coast.

Gallian with the country below the hills, as far to the north as Daman, excepting the districts of the Portugeeze, had

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had been reduced by Sevagi, and with his 1675.
fertile Corlahs to the southward, lay exposed to the devastation of the Mogul's army; from which they were nevertheless preserved by a bargain of redemption; and Bahadur Caun on receiving 10000 pagodas from Rairee, went up the hill again, without having committed any ravage. The terms were so publicly known, that we suppose the sum was accounted for to the king's treasury, as a homage. But the operations of the Siddee were not restricted by this agreement; they landed and plundered in several parts, as they proceeded down Sevagi's coast, and at length burnt the fair town of Vingurlah, near Goa, where the Dutch had a factory, which defended itself. The fleet of Sevagi had by this time been encreased to 57 sail, of which 15 were grabs, the rest gallivats; all crouded with men; they put to sea from Gheriah and Rajapore, but missed the Siddee's fleet, which on their return, went to the relief of Gingerah. Gallian
being

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1675. being clear, Sevagi's troops at the end of the year began to fortify opposite to a fort called Siben, belonging to the Portuguese, in the neighbourhood of Bassein, which produced some slender hostilities; but the work continued.
1676. In the beginning of the next year, 1676, it was reported and believed, that Sevagi was ill, dead, and poisoned by his son Sambagi at Rairee: this young man possessed all the courage and activity of his father, but little of his discretion or forecast: he was intemperately addicted to women, and had debauched the wife of a bramin, whose dwelling was on the side of the rock, to which Sambagi used to descend, at night: Sevagi ordered the guards to fling him headlong down the precipice, the first time he should attempt to get out of the fort after the watch was set. This menace gave rise to the report of Sambagi's revenge; but the certainty of Sevagi's illness was confirmed by his long continuance at Rairee, whilst the season was fair for the operations of the field.

Early

1676.

Early in April, Siddee Sambole, who had hitherto commanded both fleets, came from Gingerah to Bombay, with the Mogul's, but with few of the Siddee's; having quarrelled with some of the principal commanders, as well as with the governor of Gingerah, who had concerted to seize him; which had hastened his departure sooner than he intended. The cause of the quarrel seems to have been the embezzlement of money to which the community were entitled; and the same dishonesty in his accounts with the Mogul had set the governor of Surat at much variance with him; dreading which he pressed hard to winter at Bombay; but the prudence of Mr. Angier, who had lately returned to Surat, foreseeing trouble to the island, either by refusal or admittance, procured an invitation from the governor of Surat, with assurance of oblivion: on which Sambole sailed thither with all the vessels he had brought, leaving the harbour on the 8th of April.

At the end of this month, Sevagi's general, Morah Pundit, came down to
Gallian

1676. Gallian with 10000 horse, of which a detachment with a great number of labourers, proceeded to the northward, and took possession of a ruined fort called Pannela, which stands on a hill, 10 miles inland of Daman, and commands the frequented road to Surat, Sevagi himself soon after came to superintend the work, which continued until the fort, such as it is now seen, was raised above the danger of assault. Sevagi on his return to Rairee, sent all his troops, excepting what he left at Pannela, to their winter quarters. In July all the Siddee's vessels, which had continued at Gingerah, came to Bombay, in order to spare the provisions of their own garrison: they were commanded by Siddee Cossam, who had superseded the influence and command of Siddee Sambole.

If it were permitted to adopt conjecture, deduced from a variety of circumstances and events: we should give the following account of this community.

The appellation, of which the literal meaning

meaning is not ascertained, was applied 1676:
 in the Decan to natives of Abyssinia,
 of whom several, either as slaves or ad-
 venturers, in former times gained ascen-
 dance over a king of Viziapore, and were
 exalted by him to the highest employ-
 ments in the state. They gathered all of
 their own country they could procure either
 by purchase or invitation, and even the
 Coffrees of other parts of Africa. The na-
 tural courage of these people, not unmix-
 ed with ferocity, and always foremost in
 battle, awed the envy of their rivals,
 howsoever indignant from the pride of
 ancient Mahomedan descent, although
 the Siddees had likewise taken this reli-
 gion.

Their first marriages were with natives
 of India, and afterwards among their own
 families; which preserving the nationali-
 ty, in time formed a numerous communi-
 ty, distinct in figure, colour, and cha-
 racter from all the other races of Maho-
 medans; which nevertheless could not
 have subsisted, if the body of the people
 amongst whom they had intruded, had

1676.

been, as themselves, Mahomedans ; instead of Hindoos, indifferent to the distinctions of extraneous despots, they equally abhorred. At the time of Sevagi's revolt from Viziapore, three of the principal provinces of the kingdom were governed by Siddees, of whom the admiral of the fleet was one, and had under his jurisdiction a considerable extent of the sea-coast to the north and south of Gingerah, when Sevagi got possession of Dundah Rajapore ; when, as we have said before, the Siddees of the fleet and Gingerah, with such as escaped to them off the main, offered their vessels and service to Aurengzebe ; but reserved the property of Gingerah, and the right to whatsoever they might recover of their former selves, now lost to Viziapore. Besides their vessels of war, they had ships and other embarkations employed in trade, which contributed as much to their subsistence as the stipends of Aurengzebe. Reverence to the higher family, and to the Mogul's choice, had given the pre-eminence of command to Siddee Sambole ; but the other

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ther captains preserved the distinct command over their own crews and dependents, and an aristocratical council determined the general welfare of this singular republic; in which the lowest orders from their skill and utility, maintained some influence; and proud of their importance, merited it, by the alacrity of their service, insomuch, that they excelled all the navigators of India, and even rated themselves equal to Europeans; and indeed the onset of their sword was formidable in boarding, and on shore.

Siddee Cossun was received with respect by the English government at Bombay, and took his abode at Mazagong, where the larger vessels rode, and the smaller were hauled on shore. They continued here until the middle of August, when Morah Pundit came down the Gauts with 10000 men to renew the attack of Gingerah; where they felled all the wood around to make floating platforms with breast-works, from which the walls were to be assaulted. On which Siddee Cossun went away with 300 of his best men, to reinforce and maintain

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1676. the defence, and all the others followed as soon as the vessels could safely put to sea.

Sevagi himself continued at Rairee, until the end of September, and this was the longest repose from personal exertions which he had allowed himself since he first drew his sword; for it lasted 12 months; but it was the prelude of the most important operation of his life, which our lights are very insufficient to explain: they marched from Rairee in the beginning of October, with 30000 horse, the greatest number he had hitherto brought together into the field; giving out that he intended to invade the kingdom of Canarah, from his new acquisitions to the south of Goa. The army kept a while to the west of the hills, but suddenly ascended the ridge, and fell unexpectedly upon the northern region of Viziapore, where besides ravaging the open towns and country, they laid siege at the same time to two strong forts called Billigong and Coilas Rayim, although

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although lying at 5 days journey from each other. 1677.

The Mogul's general Bahadur Caun had lately entered Viziapore. The motive assigned for the quarrel is improbable, that the king had refused to join the Mogul's forces with 15,000 horse against Sevagi. Bahadur Caun was defeated in two severe encounters near the city of Viziapore, and in revenge listened to proposals from Sevagi, who offered it is said 400,000 pagodas with his homage of fealty to the Mogul, on condition that permission were obtained for his passage through the territory of Golcondah, to attack that part of the Carnatic, which was subject to Viziapore; and a truce of all hostilities between the Mogul and Sevagi was to continue during his absence on this expedition.

At the close of the last century, the Carnatic was under the dominion of a Gentoo king, who resided at Chandergherri, 40 miles to the north of Arcot, and 12 to the west of Tripety: the present ruins of Chandergherri

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1677. Chandergherri denote it to have been. as it was then described, a very spacious city. But the king is stiled king of Bishnagar; for what reason we do not find; unless from the ancient title of a lost possession; for the city of Bishnagar is situated on the other side of the Carnatic mountains, 200 miles to the north west of Chandergherri, and was at this time part of the dominion of the Mahomedan king of Viziapore. Two Portuguese Jesuits from St. Thomé went to Chandergherri in the year 1599, and were received with attentions by the Gentoo king; whose sovereignty they describe as extending over the countries of Tanjore and Madura; and other Jesuits who travelled at the same time into these countries confirm this assertion.

About the year 1645, a descendant of this Gentoo king of Chandergherri, permitted the English to purchase the ground of Chinapatam, on which they raised Fort St. George, and the town of Madras. Seven years after, the Carnatic was invaded by the armies of Viziapore
and

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and Golcondah, acting separately; but 1677.
agreed, it is supposed, in the objects
and division of their conquests, which
were accomplished in the year 1656. The
forces of Viziapore reduced Velore, which
probably was their first acquisition, with
all the forts in the valley of Vaniambadi
and on the hills on each hand, as far to
the south as Darmapuram; from hence
eastward to Volcondah, and along the
river Valaru, on which it stands, to
Porto Novo on the sea; from hence along
the coast to the north as far as Conimeer,
to the south as far as the Coleroon; with
all the forts and districts, a few excepted,
within the diagonal line returning to the
north-west from Conimere to Arcot, and
Velore; it is said the kingdom of Tanjore
was likewise reduced by Viziapore, but
we have met with no documents to con-
firm this position. The army of Golcon-
dah, led by the famous Emir Jumlah, redu-
ced Cudapah and all the hilly country which
stretcheth north of Velore, from Gandicotah
towards the sea, with all the open coun-
try and the sea coast between the rivers
Penar,

1677

Penar, and Paliar, which difembogue at Nelore and Sadrafs: Soon after this conquest Emir Jumlah revolted, and joining Aurengzebe, at that time his father's Viceroy in the Decan, they befieged the king of Golcondah in his capital, who, to preserve his diadem, submitted his government to the controul of the Mogul; which had continued until this time, and enabled Bahadur Caun to procure the humiliating permission which Sevagi requested.

The want of coteremporary record has disabled us from acquiring any regular account of Sevagi's expedition into the Carnatic, although on ground in which the arms and interets of our nation have of late years, taken so much concern; he returned not to Rairee, as had hitherto been his usage, at the setting in of the rains, but rendezvouzed in May of the year 1667, in a fortrefs belonging to the king of Golcondah; from whence he set off with his whole force, passed by Tripety, and afterwards within 15 miles of Madrafs, but seems to have made his main
push

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pushed directly against Gingee, of which with Volcondah and several other forts we find him in possession in the month of July, and it is probable that he had reduced much more : for some of his parties at this time plundered as far as Seringapatam in Mysore. It was impossible that this rapid success should have been the meer effect of his arms ; but that availing himself of the discord which prevailed in the council of Viziapore, he had gained several of the principal members, whose recommendations facilitated his compromises with the governors in the Carnatic. He appointed Harjee Rajah his viceregent in the conquered country, and fixed its capital at Gingee. Whether detained by the prosecution or regulation of his conquests we cannot ascertain, but it does not appear that he quitted the Carnatic before the beginning of the year 1678. 1677.

Siddee Sambole with the Mogul's ships, and what remained with him of his own community, sailed from Surat in October 1676, on a cruise against Sevagi's coasts ; and in December burnt the town

1676.

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1677. of Jettapore, which stands at the mouth of the river 12 miles from the mart of Rajapore; but troops from hence deterred the Siddee's from advancing farther up the river: they then proceeded back to Gingerah, where the garrison strengthend by Siddee Coffim's reinforcement, and encouraged by his activity, had frustrated the floating batteries of Morah Pundit, who returned to Rairee. Positive orders had come from Delhi, that the Mogul's fleet should be delivered to Siddee Coffim, which Sambole promised to obey at the close of the season; and on this reconciliation, both fleets together came into the port of Bombay at the end of April, where Sambole promised from day to day to depart for Surat, but loitered until the monsoon set in; when it was impossible to put to sea, and then took up his residence, as usual, at Mazagong.

A wicked bramin who was an inhabitant of the opposite shore, came and offered Siddee Sambole to seize several persons, whom he represented as of much respect in Sevagi's government. The
Siddee

Siddee afraid of discovery, gave him money to hire a boat and men belonging to the island, which set off as if on the ordinary occasions of traffick, and brought back 4 bramins, whom the Siddee confined with all secrecy on board his own ship; so that the first intelligence which the government of Bombay received of the felony, was by letters from Sevagi's governor of upper Chaul, threatening a total prohibition of provisions and firewood from the main, and even worse consequences, unless the bramins were immediately restored. The Siddee at first denied the fact, and then his share of it; but complied. Soon after 11 of the boat's crew were taken, of whom 3 were executed, and the others sent to Saint Helena. 1677.

The fair season returned before the competition between the two Siddees was reconciled. Sambale insisted on two of the largest of the Mogul's ships to carry himself with his retinue and family to Surat, and on the release of his wives and children, who were detained by Cossim

1677. as hostages at Gingerah ; but on receiving an order from the governor of Surat to surrender them, Cossim tendered his compliance to Sambole, who nevertheless continued to prevaricate ; which so incensed Cossim, that he marched from his quarters near the fort with his retinue, which was 300 men, and attacked the quarters of Sambole, who had nearly the same number at Mazagong. The report of matchlocks and pistols first apprised the fort, which detached the best of the garrison, with the troop of horse, who fell indiscriminately on both parties, until they had quelled the riot ; which was not instantly effected ; for 3 of the troopers horses were killed, as was the horse on which Sambole was fighting. Many of the combatants were wounded, and some slain ; mostly by the sword. The council obliged the two chiefs to send all excepting a few menial servants to the ships : but permitted the continuance of the watch over the vessels hauled on shore, lest boats from Sevagi's Corlahs should attempt to burn them in the night.

The

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The council then interfered as mediators, and brought the two Siddees to agreement, Sambole to have his family, and one of the Mogul's ships, Cossim to receive all the others, who accordingly hoisted his flags as admiral of both the fleets, which a few days after sailed out of the harbour in the beginning of November. 1677.

Morah Pundit during the truce with the Mogul and the expedition of Sevagi to the Carnatic, had visited and provided all the garrisons in and dependant on the Concan, and kept what troops were left for the field, with as much care, as if every day were to have produced hostility; which the Mogul's generals would before this time have renewed, had they not been engaged with little success against the army of Viziapore.

We now resume the war which Aurengzebe had conducted in person against the Pitans beyond the Indus, where he arrived in the beginning of the year 1675; before which a part of his vanguard had crossed the river, whom the Pitans 1678.

1578. Pitans defeated, and put to death even the prisoners of their victory ; but after the main army, with Aurengzebe himself, had passed, the Pitans confined their resistance to skirmishes, the defence of posts, and night assaults on the camp ; which protracted the war for 15 months ; but numbers at length prevailed ; for the Mogul army was sufficient to people the country they attacked. After all the more habitable valleys were reduced, the Pitans retired into the more inaccessible mountains, in which Aurengzebe did not think it worth the prize to expose his troops, nor his own presence farther necessary ; but establishing a chain of posts, and leaving a sufficient force to defend the conquered country, under the command of a general especially selected, returned himself to Delhi, from whence he had been absent twenty seven months, which, according to our computation extended to July of the year 1676. Nevertheless the work was not yet finished to his mind ; and he continued at Delhi waiting the completion he had prepared.

The

The former governors of Pishavir and Cabul, had always kept the Pitans under severe restrictions, and their chiefs at imperious distance. But Cossim Khan, whom Aurengzebe appointed on his return to Delhi, assumed a different conduct. He remitted the arrears, and lowered the rates of their tributes; treated their chiefs with equality, and even frequented them with slender attendance, and negligent familiarities, which left him at their mercy, submitting to incur their contempt, in order to gain their confidence; but no condescensions could induce them, as he hoped, to deliver up the pretended Sultan. He, however, diverted them from any sinister suspicions of himself; and got all, who especially supported the pretender, to come to a festival at Pishavir; in which he made them drunk with intoxicated wine, when bands concealed for the purpose, came in, and massacred them all, whilst others overpowered their retainers. The impostor, on the destruction of his protectors, escaped over the mountains
into

1678. into Persia, and was never after heard of. This execrable deed, Aurengzebe himself was obliged by the public detestation, to reprobate ; and recalling Cossim Khan, degraded him to the lowest rank of Omrahs ; but privately assured him of favour, whose exculpation, had he dared to make any, would have been death. To soothe or obviate the vengeance of the Pitans, he sent first his son Acbar, and then Sultan Mauzum, to Pish-avir. But the Pitans were too much disconcerted by the loss of their chiefs, to recur to arms.

The consent or indifference of Aurengzebe to Sevagi's expedition into the Carnatic, may be imputed either to the devotion of his attention to the Pitans, or to his belief that Sevagi would waste his force unprofitably at such a distance against so strong a country. But this reasoning proved the importance of the conquest, which was not only sufficient to maintain itself, but with the parsimony of Sevagi's warfare, to furnish means for other invasions. Viziapore now became as much exposed to his attacks from the
Carnatic

Carnatic on one side, as from the Concan 1678.
on the other; and the rich countries
to the south of the Coleroon lay at the
mercy of his activity from Gingee;
whenever disengaged from other exer-
tions.

Accordingly this encrease of his power
excited the indignation of Aurengzebe,
in proportion to the obstacles it might
create to his own views of reducing the
Peninsula. He sharply rebuked Bahau-
der Caun, for having been mistaken in
the consequence of his truce with Sevagi;
and sent back Delire Khan with a se-
perate command, ordering him at least
to press the conquest of Viziapore, if he
could not make impresson on Sevagi's
countries; who returning from the
Carnatic, ravaged in Viziapore, destroy-
ing the towns and tillage until the begin-
ning of February 1678; when Delire
Khan with his army entered the country,
and Sevagi making the most of every
turn, then offered his assistance to the king,
which was accepted, and enabled the state
to make head against all the efforts of

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1678. Delire Khan. Sevagi returned to Rairee in April, after an absence of 19 months, the longest since he had fixed his residence there.

1677. Siddee Cossim with the fleets, after quitting Bombay in November, continued cruizing along the coast of the Concan, landing frequently, but gaining little pillage, in lieu of which they seized what inhabitants they could catch, and made them indiscriminately, even brahmins, the slaves of menial office. In March they came to Danda Rajapore, where they continued until the governor of Surat had gained permission of the English presidency for their wintering again in Bombay, where they arrived at the end

1678. of April, and hauled their smaller vessels on shore as formerly at Mazagong, and moored the larger as close to it as they could lie; many of the men took up their dwelling in the town, and daily committed violence and injuries on the inhabitants, who were for the most part Gentoos.

Morah

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Morah Pundit, Annagee Pundit, and most of the officers of the higher ranks in Sevagi's government were bramins, and Sevagi in deference to their execration of the inexpressible impurities which Siddee Cossim had inflicted on the bramins he had taken prisoners, consented to indulge their proposal of burning the two fleets at Bombay; which moreover had for many years been the only obstacle to the reduction of Gingerah. Accordingly Dowlet Caun, and Deira Sirang, the two admirals of his own fleet, came down with 4000 men in the month of July to Panwell, a large town on the river Penn, on the eastern shore of the harbour; but found not boats sufficient to transport them; and the monsoon prevented the procurement of more from other parts without the bay: on this disappointment Dowlet Caun marched with the men to Gallian, from whence he requested leave, of the Portuguese to cross at Tannah, intending to pass the channel of Mahim, and advance through the island of Bombay

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bay to the town of Mazagong, where they would have attacked the Siddee's quarters and vessels on shore, and from thence in boats they might find or bring, have boarded the ships or vessels at anchor near.

The alarm was not trivial at Bombay. Whilst Sevagi's men were at Panwell, a considerable part of the garrison was quartered at Mazagong; and when they proceeded to Gallian, moved to oppose them at Mahim, and a frigate was stationed in that channel to annoy their passage into the island. But fortunately Bassein was equally alarmed for the island of Salcette, and the governor himself came with the best of his force to Tannah, and anchored 40 armed boats in the stream, which utterly deterred the attempt of passing there. Dowlet Caun, not to have done nothing, burnt several villages in the Portuguese country, and sent a part of his troops by Pancla of Damant to plunder about Surat; which with the rest were soon after recalled to Raizee; and as soon as the fair

fair weather was settled, were sent with many more, and a mightier train of artillery to Dunda Rajapore, against Gingerah. The wisdom of Sevagi controuled his resentment of the protection which Bombay had so often afforded, and now more openly than ever, to the Siddee's fleet; which indeed could scarcely be justified by the law of nations, and would have been severely atoned, if the wants of Bombay had not continually brought money into his country; and a proof of the influence of this consideration soon after occurred.

The Soubadar or governor of upper Chaul had claims of money arising from traffick upon Petit, one of the company's factors, and on a Banian, who was brother to their broker at Surat; delays of payment had been long practised, and the Soubadar relying on the vexation of Sevagi at the disappointment of burning the Siddee's fleet, seized all the boats belonging to Bombay, which chanced at this time to be trading in the rivers, and ports of his jurisdiction. Thirty were in
the

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1678. the rivers Pen, and Negotan, within the harbour, opposite to the island. The council of Bombay armed 4 boats with 60 Europeans, who attacked and beat off the guard, and brought back most of the boats which had been seized. The Soubadar complained to Sevagi of this insult in his territory; who said the English had done right, and ordered him to release all the trade and vessels he had stopped in any part of his government.

Towards the end of the year the batteries of Sevagi were playing furiously upon the island of Gingerah, whilst Siddie Cossim unable to pay his men for want of remittances from Surat, was constrained to continue in the harbour of Bombay. We have no account of what operations had ensued between the Mogul's troops and those of Viziapore since the month of May.

The year 1679 opened with a new war conducted by Aurengzebe in person, which leads us to recall an important measure in his government, so contrary to all the notions of sound policy, as well as all the feelings

feelings of general humanity, that reflection seeks the motive with amazement. 1678.

It is well known that Aurengzebe used the mask of religious austerity, amongst his other means of acquiring the throne. Of his brothers, Dara had written a treatise, endeavouring to reconcile the doctrines of Bramah with the tenets of the Alcoran; Sujah had no religion; and Morad drank wine to excess; and the indulgence of their father, Shah Jehan, to all persuasions, incurred the reproach of indifference to his own. Assumed practices of general estimation can never be comfortably relinquished; but the hypocrisy of Aurengzebe encreased with his power; and in order to palliate to his Mahomedan subjects, the crimes by which he had become their sovereign, he determined to enforce the conversion of the HINDOOS throughout his empire by the severest penalties, and even threatned the sword; as if the blood of his subjects were to wash away the stains, with which he was imbrued by the blood of his family.

1678. A few petty Rajahs were lured by better appointments to conversion, but the people clung to their pagodas; some preachers were put to death, which increased the spirit of martyrdom. An old woman led a multitude in arms from Agra towards Delhi, whom Aurengzebe defeated in person. The religious vexation continued. Labour left the field, and industry the loom; until the decrease of the revenues drew representations from the governors of the provinces; which induced Aurengzebe to substitute a capitation tax, as the ballance of the account between the two religions. It was laid with heavy disproportion on the lower orders of Hindoos, which compose the multitude; insomuch, that the produce, if we understand the account, would have amounted to half the ancient revenue: few, nevertheless, bartered their faith for the exemption, and thousands perished under the oppression.

Abnir, Chitore, and Joudpore, are the three great Rajahships of Indostan. Abnir adjoins to the west of the province of Agra,

Agra, and to the north of Azmir. Chitore lies on the west of Malva; Joudpore of Chitore, extending to the Indus; and both these principalities adjoin to the north of Guzerat. The races of the Rajpoots, who possess the three countries, are acknowledged the noblest in the empire: no inferior casts are admitted to the honour of bearing arms amongst them; and when united, they can bring 200,000 fighting men into the field. The Mogul had often endeavoured to subject them to amenable vassalage; but had never been able to obtain their acquiescence to more than ceremonious acknowledgements, and rated subsidies of troops. The situation of their countries enabled them to retaliate injuries in the centre of the empire; but attached to their soil, as ground in which their deities, as well as ancestors had lived, few of their princes had been ambitious of encreasing their territory. Jysing as we have seen was Rajah of Abnir, and Jesswont Sing of Joudpore. Both had served in the revolution of Aurengzebe; but we do not find

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1676.

1678. in the cotemporary accounts of that period, any mention of the Rajah of Chitore, although the first of the three in ancients and respect, and styled the Ranah, or lord of the Rajahs.

Jysing died at Brampore, soon after the pretended revolt of Sultan Mauzum, and seems to have been poisoned by the procurement of Aurengzebe; his son Ram Sing was at that time serving with a body of Rajpoots in attendance at Delhi, and admitted the capitation tax in his country. Aurengzebe then proposed it, but with an alternative, and by an ambassador, to the Ranah, "That he should no longer strike coin with his own name, but with Aurengzebe's; that kine might be killed in his territory; that the pagodas should be demolished, or converted into mosques; that justice should be administered according to the Alcoran; and that if these terms were refused, his whole people should be subject to the general capitation of the Hindoos."

The

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The Ranah remonstrated to gain time, which Aurengzebe likewise wanted, until his military preparations were ready, having two wars of equal difficulty to wage; and whilst waiting, came the option of a third. The Rajah Jesswont Sing died in the beginning of the year 1678, leaving a high spirited widow, and two sons, not yet arrived at man's estate. Aurengzebe, to get them into his power, invited them to Delhi: they came even to the suburbs; but receiving some suspicion, set off hastily on their return the same night, and were pursued by 5,000 horse, whom 250 devoted Rajpoots stopped at a pass, until the escape of the princes was secured.

On this, Aurengzebe called up his sons Azim and Ecbar, from their governments of Bengal and Multan; but without waiting for their junction, took the field himself in October 1678 with his two armies; the one under his own conduct, against Chitore and Joudpore; the other of Sultan Mauzum, against Sevagi. Both held the same rout as far as the province

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1678. of Malva; on their approach, the Rannah and the widow called on all the Hindoo powers for assistance.

Sultan Mauzum arrived at Brampore in the beginning of January 1679, and advanced to Aurengabad, where he fixed his court. The strict severity of Sevagi's character, which permitted no relaxation either to himself or others from the occupations of war and government, had long grown irksome to the headstrong licentiousness of his son Sambagi; who, what few had ever done, contrived his scheme and correspondence without incurring the suspicion of his father, and went off with 2000 horse from Rairee to Aurengabad, where he was expected and received by Sultan Mauzum with the utmost complacence.

At this time the Pitan Bullul Caun, minister and general of Viziapore, who had assassinated his predecessor in that station, Cowis Caun the Siddee, was himself assassinated; and Sergi Khan, important by his domains, had acquired the principal influence in the state. As new ministers rarely adapt the systems of those

those they succeed, Sergi Khan yielded to the requisitions of Sultan Mauzum, demanding the assistance of Viziapore against Sevagi, to which the defection of his son Sambagi was no little encouragement. Sevagi saw and met the storm with his usual intrepidity, and fixed himself with the best of his force in Panela, his nearest frontier to Viziapore, and the southern parts of the Mogul Country. 1679.

This alacrity with the approach of the rains stopped the confederates from taking the field, until they had increased their preparations. Nor had the danger deterred or diverted Sevagi from other exertions; for on his son's defection a body of his troops from Rairee appeared and ravaged within sight of Surat, and his preparations at sea were continued with unabated endeavour and expence.

It was now seven years that he had been increasing his fleet to become a match for the Siddees, or any other force against which he might be compelled, or choose to contend. None of his

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1679. his harbours admitted ships of a great size, such as were used at Surat, or by the Europeans. The traffic from port to port of the malabar and northern coasts, as well of the Concan, now his own, had from time immemorial been of great amount; but carried on in vessels of shallow burthen capable of taking close refuge under every shelter of the land. The vessels for fight under the various denominations of pyrates which have always infested these coasts, were adapted to the constructions of the chase they were to follow, and trusted to the superiority of number against ships of burthen in the open sea. Sevagi did not change this system in his own marine, and by this time had collected a fleet of 20 two-mast Grabs and 40 Gallivatts.

The protection which the Siddees had given to Gingerah against the repeated attacks of Sevagi, as well as their frequent annoyances of his country, had been so much facilitated by their resort to Bombay, that Sevagi at length determined to compell the English Government

1678.

ment to a stricter neutrality by reprisals on their own port. About 6 miles below the point of Tull lie two rocky Islands, the one called Kenary, 2 miles and a half from the main; the other Hundry, at the distance of 1200 yards. Kenary, which is the largest of the two, is only a mile and a half long and half a mile in breadth. Neither had ever been inhabited, and both were covered with wood, which sometimes supplied Bombay with fuel; nor had they been deemed of any other utility, although no vessel could enter or come out of the harbour, which might not be discerned from them in the day, and a light house on Kenary would have ascertained the navigation in the night.

Sevagi, whom no advantage escaped, ordered preparations during the stormy season; and at the end of August, as soon as it began to abate, 300 soldiers and as many labourers, with arms and materials, passed from the main into the island of Kenary, and immediately began to raise breast works at the landing places.

1679. places. Bombay when too late saw the consequences, and recollected a pretension to both the islands by the cession of Portugal; which, the Portugeze at Bassein, equally alarmed, denied, and asserted an ancient right of their own, having formerly attempted to settle on Kenary, but finding the water came up salt in the wells they dug, desisted. Bombay at this time had no gallivats, which are vessels constructed for swift sailing; and therefore fitted 3 Shibars or trading boats, which they armed with 40 Europeans of the Garrison, who were ordered to prevent the landing of any vessels from Sevagi's shore, and to summon his officer on the Island to retire with his people; who answered that he should never quit his station until recalled by his master. Ten days after hard weather drove the Shibars back to Bombay, from whence they proceeded again to the island, reinforced by the Revenge, a frigate of 16 Guns. The next day, which was the 19th of September, a Lieutenant in a fit of drunkenness landed with the men

of

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of his shibar, was killed with 6 other 1679.
Europeans, the rest made prisoners, and
the shibar hauled up on the shore; all
before any assistance could be given by
the other vessels, working against the
wind and tide; which the enemy's boats
by their construction and oars were
much better enabled to surmount; and
for several nights following passed to
and from the island without interception.
The officers on the service imputed their
ineffectual watch to the fewness of their
vessels, and the whole of Sevagi's armada
were assembling at Chaul under the
command of his admiral Dowlet Caun:
on which the government of Bombay
encreased their force by hiring the vessels
they wanted, and on the 6th of October
the fleet off Kenary consisted of the
Revenge, as admiral, 2 grabs of two
masts, the 3 shibars, and 2 munchuas,
a stronger kind of trading vessel, in all
eight; on board of which were 200
European soldiers, which amounted to two
thirds of the garrison of Bombay, besides
the seamen and lascars of the crews.

1679.

On the 15th of October Dowlet Caun's fleet anchored close to the shore a little to the north of Chaul, in sight of Kenary, to which a number of his gallivats passed over in the ensuing night, and on the next returned to the main. At day break of the next morning, which was the 18th, their whole fleet bore down firing from their prows, and advancing so fast that the English vessels at anchor near the island, had scarcely time to get under weigh; in less than half an hour one of the English grabs, called the Dove, struck, and was carried off; the other avoided this danger, and afterwards kept aloof, and the 5 sail of shibars and munchuas ran away: so that the Revenge was left alone in the midst of the enemy. She was commanded by captain Minchin, and had on board, as commodore of the whole fleet, Keigwin the commander of the garrison, both men of courage; they beat off the enemy's gallivats which attempted to board, and sunk 5 of them; on which the whole fleet, 50 vessels, fled before this single frigate, and

1679.

and were pursued into shoal water to the bar of Negotan; but several of their gallivats with recruits and stores had got into Kenary during the fight; which was intended to cover them. Two days after the enemy's fleet came out again from Negotan; but when the English advanced to meet them, returned into the river.

At this time 5000 of Sevagi's troops, in expectation of better effects from their fleet, came down from Rairee to Gallian, and demanded, as once before, permission of the Portugeze Government at Bassein, to pass at Tannah, in order to cross at Mahim into Bombay; but were again refused. Nevertheless their continuance at Gallian created much solicitude, lest the Portugueze should change their mind, or they get boats and pass down from Gallian in the night, whilst so great a part of the garrison was abroad in the fleet; which produced a negotiation with Rairee.

Notwithstanding the encrease of the English vessels, it still continued impossible to prevent the enemy's boats from

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passing to Kenary in the night : 12 passed on the 25th, 5 a few nights after, and although not so readily, all got back again : Cannon were now mounted in the island, and fired at the English vessels; but in several days only one shot struck, which killed a cooley; several gallivats were driven on shore near Nago-tan at different times, by the shibars or munchuas. Another frigate, of 16 guns, called the Hunter, which had come from Surat and brought the president's guard of 36 Europeans, to reinforce Bombay, was sent to the fleet, which then quitted their stations near Kenary, and anchored to block up the river of Negotan; but could not effectually; because it has two outlets: on which Keigwin proposed to enter, burn the enemies fleet, and ravage the country; but the council at Bombay, and still more the presidency at Surat, were unwilling to risque such a provocation of Sevagi's resentment, and were confirmed in this caution by the hope of seeing the quarrel taken off their hands.

The

The Mogul government at Surat were as much alarmed, as either the English or Portugueze, at Sevagi's views on the sea, whom they had hitherto only dreaded on shore; for besides the extensive trade in many vessels to various parts of the East Indies, 7 or 8 ships which traded to the red sea, and the gulph of Persia, annually brought back 500,000l. in gold and silver alone. The Siddee was equally anxious for the preservation of his strong hold of Dunda Rajapore, and by this concurrence of apprehensions obtained the supplies of his equipment for the first time without grudge or regret, from the government of Surat. His fleet consisted of 2 large ships, 3 frigates of three masts, and 15 stout gallivats, in which besides the lascars were 700 excellent soldiers. They arrived at Bombay on the 10th of November, and after conference with the council there, joined the Company's fleet off Kenary, whose officers at the same time received cautious instructions.

Siddee

1679.

Siddee Cossim having rowed round the island proposed to assault it with his own men, if the Company's vessels would cover the landing; but Keigwin discovered that he intended to keep it, if carried; and as Bombay might receive more detriment from it in his possession, than from Sevagi's, evaded to give the assistance; on which the Siddee canonaded the island from his two ships for several days, which was returned, but with no effect on either side: during which no firing passed between the Company's fleet and the island. This wariness confirmed what intelligence the Siddee had gained concerning the negotiation between Bombay and Sevagi, and in order to break it, he sent off his gallivats in the night to attack the corlahs in the harbour; where they burnt four towns, and brought off the inhabitants for slaves. Single boats from the main continued to get into the island; and Dowlet Caun prepared to come out of Negotan with a numerous convoy laden with provisions and ammunition: and all his grabs appeared

peared one morning at the mouth of the river; but on the approach of the two fleets from their stations, went in again; the smaller vessels were then left to block the outlets, but the Siddee fearing his own might be surprized, withdrew them; and the watch was continued by only two of the Company's. The firing was renewed between the Siddee and the island, and continued for thirteen days to the last of December with as little effect as before, and thus stood the quarrel at the end of the year 1679.

In September Sevagi came out of Pannela, with what force for the field he had kept there during the rains, and joined 20,000 horse, which Morah Pundit had collected waiting for him at the foot of the western side of the ridge; they proceeded towards Viziapore, whose forces were joined by the Mogul's army from Aurengabad under the conduct of Delire Cawn; Sambagi was likewise with them, and in a general battle which ensued, his ensigns were displayed against his father's. The contest was sharp: on
Sevagi's

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1679. Sevagi's side two thousand Morattoes were slain, and as many surrendered. His enemies claimed the victory, which he confirmed by retreating to Rairee, where he arrived in the beginning of November.

This was the only defeat of his life, but he soon dispelled the reproach, which he had willingly encouraged. A powerful Rajah in Berar, aggrieved by the Mogul government, confederated with him for their mutual revenge; and in the beginning of December Sevagi set off from Rairee with a chosen body of horse, and suddenly appeared in the country between Aurengabad and Brampore, where, joined with the forces of the Rajah, they committed all kind of devastation: Dongong where the English had factors. Chupra, and other great marts were again plundered, and Brampore shut its gates. At the same time Morah Pundit with another body of horse proceeded along the western side of the mountains and ravaged towards Surat: Sevagi returned to Rairee with his booty
at

at the end of the year, but Morah Pundit 1679:
with his division kept the field.

In the mean time Aurengzebe was carrying on the war against the Ranah of Chitore, and the Rajah of Marwar, who on the approach of his army at the end of the preceding year, 1678, had abandoned the accessible country, and drew their herds and inhabitants into the vallies, within the mountains; the army advanced amongst the defiles with incredible labour, and with so little intelligence, that the division which moved with Aurengzebe himself, was unexpectedly stopped by insuperable defences and precipices in front; whilst the Rajpoots in one night closed the streights in his rear, by felling the overhanging trees; and from their stations above, prevented all endeavours of the troops either within or without, from removing the obstacle. Udepuri the favorite and Circassian wife of Aurengzebe accompanied him in this arduous war, and with her retinue and escort was enclosed in another part of the mountains; her conductors

1679. tors dreading to expose her person to danger or public view, surrendered. She was carried to the Ranah, who received her with homage, and every attention. Mean while the emperor himself might have perished by famine, of which the Ranah let him see the risque, by a confinement of two days; when he ordered his Rajpoots to withdraw from their station and suffer the way to be cleared. As soon as Aurengzebe was out of danger, the Ranah sent back his wife, accompanied by a chosen escort, who only requested in return, that he would refrain from destroying the sacred animals of their religion, which might still be left in the plains; but Aurengzebe, who believed in no virtue but self-interest, imputed the generosity and forbearance of the Ranah to the fear of future vengeance, and continued the war. Soon after, he was again well nigh enclosed in the mountains. This second experience of difficulties beyond his age and constitution, and the arrival of his sons, Azem and Acbar, determined him not to expose

expose himself any longer in the field; but to leave its operations to their conduct, superintended by his own instructions from Azmir; to which city he retired with the households of his family, the offices of his court, and his body-guard of 4000 men, dividing the army between his two sons, who each had brought a considerable body of troops from their respective governments. They continued the war each in a different part of the country, and neither at the end of the year, had forced the ultimate passes of the mountains.

The confederates in Viziapore, after Sevagi's retreat, attacked some of the towns in this country which he had formerly reduced. Amongst others, they sacked Huttany, a very considerable mart; and Delire Khan proposed to sell the inhabitants, who were Hindoos, for slaves; but Sergi Khan the general of Viziapore wished to preserve them as recovered subjects; and Sambagi still more sacredly, as being of his own religion; but the two mahomedans agreed, and

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1679. Sambagi in detestation of co-operating any longer with such allies, went off with his troops, which were 400 horse, and 1000 foot, to his father's fort of Panela; who ordered his admission, and went to meet him at the end of the year, when they were reconciled; and Sevagi leaving him in the command of Panela returned to Rairee: Morah Pundit still continued towards Surat, but refrained from any strenuous exertion, lest his assistance should be required by the future operations of Sevagi.

1680. The Siddee continued his daily battery against Kenary, until the 9th of January, when without intimating his design to the English captains, he anchored his fleet at Hundery the other island, on which he landed men and cannon, and declared his intention of fortifying it, as a check on Kenary. Four days after Dowlet Caun came out, with all his vessels from the river of Negotan, and a general engagement ensued with little damage, for it was over before the English could take any share in it. Dowlet Caun then

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then brought guns to a rising ground on the main land opposite Hundery, against which they fired, and were answered as well by the Sidde's ships as the guns in the island: this cannonade continued several days. On the 27th Dowlet Caun came out again with the whole fleet and engaged the Siddee's for 4 hours, until he had lost 4 grabs, and as many of the smaller vessels, with 500 men killed and wounded, besides the prisoners; and was himself severely wounded. The Siddee lost no vessels, and had only ten men killed; such was the advantage of his ships over the opener and more slender vessels of the enemy; whose grabs with their wounded admiral leaving their gallivats to the neighbouring rivers, bore away after the engagement, to refit at Rajapore, which is 100 miles to the south of Negotan. 1680.

This while the negociation had been carrying on at Bombay with an ambassador sent on purpose from Rairee, and lest that he should think that this success of the Siddee was acceptable to the council,

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1680.

cil, they immediately recalled their own fleet. The Siddee tried again to break off the treaty, by sending the grabs he had taken, to be sold in Bombay, and being refused the permission, entered the harbour on the 27th of February, with his whole fleet, and detached his gallivats crouded with men into the river Penn, which they went up as far as the depth permitted, burning all the towns and villages on either hand, and brought away near a thousand of the inhabitants. Nevertheless the treaty was concluded in the middle of March: it confirmed that of 1674 made by Mr. Oxenden, and promised immediate payment of what remained due of the compensation then allowed for the company's losses at the sack of Rajapore in 1673. The English agreed not to permit the Siddees fleet to winter in the harbour, but under the condition of not attacking the opposite shores.

In this interval Sevagi was gone from Rairee, but no one knew whither; a convoy of money to a great amount was coming,

coming to Aurengabad, of which, as 1680
of every thing concerning his enemy,
he received early intelligence; and tak-
ing his time before his intentions could
be suspected, issued with a detachment
of his hardiest cavalry, remote from all
the Mogul's stations; and fell upon the
convoy before his approach was known,
within a few miles of Brampore; where
it would have been safe, until sent for-
ward with stronger escort. He seized the
whole, and brought it without interrup-
tion, and the same rapidity to Rairee.
But the purchase was dearly earned; for
the excessive strain of fatigue, greater
than any he had endured since his escape
from Delhi, caused an inflammation in
his breast, attended with spitting of
blood: his disorder although encreasing
every day was kept secret within his pa-
lace at Rairee; and if it had been pub-
lished would not have been believed, since
he had more than once sent abroad re-
ports of his death, at the very time he
was setting out on some signal excursion;
and at this very time his army towards
Surat.

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1680. Surat, which he probably intended to have joined, were acting with such ravage and hostility, up to the walls, that the city imagined Sevagi himself was commanding in person; and expected an assault with so much terror, that the English presidency sent off the treasure of their factory across the river, to the marine of Swally, where lay some of their ships; and the governor of the town redeemed his fears by a large contribution; with which Morah Pundit returned to Rairee, to see his master die. He expired on the 5th of April, 1680, and in the 52d year of his age. His funeral pile was administered with the same sacrifices as had been devoted the year before to the obsequies of the Maha Rajah, Jeshwont Sing, of Joudpore: attendants, animals, and wives, were burnt with his corpse.

The name of his family was Bonfolo which claiming their descent from ancient princes of the Rajpoot nation, were exempted (we suppose in convenience to military exertions) from some of the stricter

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stricter observances of the general religion; from which nevertheless he never deviated for the sake of indulgences; and affected the deepest reverence to his brahmins, undertaking no expedition without their auspices; and was as punctual in his private devotions, as assiduous in the ceremonies of public worship; it should seem from conviction; but whether so or no, his practice gained the public respect: and as he delighted in every occasion of throwing defiance against Aurengzebe, he frequently stiled himself in his correspondence and manifestos the champion of the Hindoo gods against the sanguinary violator of their temples; which, with his own example, sharpened the antipathy of his troops against the Mogul's, whom they deemed it religious retaliation to destroy.

His private life was simple, even to parsimony; his manners void of insolence or ostentation; as a sovereign he was humane, and sollicitious for the well being of his people, as soon as assured of

1678. their obedience ; for he gathered them as we have seen by degrees.

Conflicting against the Mogul, Viziapore, and Golcondah, the revenues of his own territories, all wrested from their dominions, were not sufficient to supply the means of maintaining effectual war against such rich and mighty powers; but his genius created the resources which nature had denied. The cavalry of the three Mahomedan states were always drawn from the northern countries and borders of India with especial regard to the strength and size, as well of the riders as their horses; whose pampered maintenance was of vast expence; but their shock was not to be resisted by any of the native cavalry to the south of Delhi, and all the conquests made by the Mahomedans in this lower region may be imputed to this unequal decision. Sevagi first discerned and provided the equivalent opposition, by establishing a cavalry, of which the requisites were agility and endurance of fatigue: many must have perished in the probation, but besides the supplies of purchase and capture, broods

broods were raised from the most approved. The horse without a saddle was rode by a man without cloths, whose constant weapon was a trusty sabre; footmen enured to the same travel, and bearing all kind of arms trooped with the horse: spare horses to bring off the booty, and relieve the wearied or wounded. All gathered their daily provisions, as they passed. No pursuit could reach their march; in conflict their onset fell where-soever they chose, and was relinquished even in the instant of charge. Whole districts were in flames before their approach was known, as a terror to others to redeem the ravage. Nor were they so wanton in bloodshed as reported by affright; but gave no quarter to resistance or interruption: in the towns they only fought the wealthy inhabitants to carry them off for future ransom. Such was their war of plunder. In regular campaigns, in which fortresses were to be reduced, they must have moved with the usual incumbrances; but Sevagi seems to have besieged none at an inconvenient

1677.

1678! distance from others of which he was in possession ; excepting when he invaded the Carnatic, of which we have acquired no circumstances.

We are not apprized in what manner he satisfied and paid his soldiery and their officers ; but believe with portions of the cumbrous plunder, grain, land, honour, priviledges, exemptions, and very little ready money, for the continual influx of treasure from his predatory excursions raised the fame of the caves of Rairee to a proverbial symbol of eastern wealth, as a repository from which nothing returned. Nevertheless nothing necessary to the success of his operations was stinted, and what capture did not furnish was procured by purchase. He spared no cost to obtain intelligence of all the motions and intentions of his enemy, and even of minuter import ; for his detachments always knew the opulent houses of the towns they attacked, and often the very cell in which the treasure they sought was buried ; he was still more profuse in corrupting the generals with whom

whom he contended; the Mogul's govern- 1679.
ors of Surat, his Subahs in the Decan, and
even Sultan Mauzum his son, and the heir
of his empire, had more than once accept-
ed the gold of connivance from Sevagi.

The same principles of frugality and
expencc were observed in the municipal
disbursements of his government: for su-
perior himself to magnificence, none of
his officers were led to expect more than
competence; but nothing was spared
which might contribute to the internal
defence of his country. Regular forti-
fications well armed and garrisoned bar-
red the opener approaches; every pass
was commanded by forts, and in the
closer defiles, every steep and overhanging
rock was occupied as a station to roll
down great masses of stone, which made
their way to the bottom, and became the
most effectual annoyance to the labour-
ing march of cavalry, elephants and car-
riages. It is said that he left 350 of these
posts in the Concan alone.

SEVAGI possessed all the qualities of
command: every influence howsoever la-
tent

1679. tent was combined in his schemes, which generally comprehended the option of more than one success; so that his intention could rarely be ascertained, and when accomplished, did not discover the extent of its advantages, until developed by subsequent acquisitions. In personal activity he exceeded all generals of whom there is record; for no partizan appropriated to services of detachment alone, ever traversed as much ground, as he at the head of armies. He met every emergency of peril, howsoever sudden and extreme with instant discernment, and unshaken fortitude; the ablest of his officers acquiesced to the eminent superiority of his genius; and the boast of the soldier was to have seen Sevagi charging sword in hand.

Thus respected, as the guardian of the nation he had formed, he moved every where amongst them with unsuspicious security, and often alone; whilst his wiles were the continual terror of the princes with whom he was at enmity, even in the midst of their citidels and armies. Whensoever we shall obtain a history of his

*Sevagi was
often in the
general's
yells his
own
from the
Duncan
M. P. H. H.*

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his life written in his own country, he will doubtless appear to have possessed the highest resources of stratagem, joined to undaunted courage; which although equal to the encounter of any danger, always preferred to surmount it by circumvention; which, if impracticable, no arm exceeded his in open daring. Gallantry must lament that it should once have been stained by the blood of assassination. 1678.

Aurengzebe could not suppress the emotions of his joy, on hearing of Sevagi's death, nor the justice due to his character, which he had denied during his life. "He was," he said, "a great captain, and the only one who has had the magnanimity to raise a new kingdom, whilst I have been endeavouring to destroy the ancient sovereignties of India; my armies have been employed against him for nineteen years, and nevertheless, his state has been always encreasing."

This state comprized, on the western side of India, all the coast with the back country of the hills from the river Mirzeou

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1679. Mirzeou to Versal; excepting the small territory of Goa to the south, Bombay, Salcette, and the Portuguese country between Bacein and Daman to the north. Along the other side of the ridge, all, as far as the mountains continued to the westward, likewise belonged to Sevagi. The whole at a general amount, may be esteemed 400 miles in length, and 120 in breadth: at the distance of 300 miles from this dominion, he was in possession, towards the eastern sea, of half the Carnatic, which alone equalled most of the Rajahships of India; all acquired by his own abilities from an origin of little note, and left at his decease a permanent sovereignty, established on communion of manners, customs, observances, language, and religion, united in common defence against the tyranny of foreign conquerors, from whom they had recovered the land of their own inheritance. }

SAMBAGEE was at Pannela when his father died, his younger brother Ram Rajah at Rairee, whom Annagee Pundit the second minister, and rival of Morah Pundit

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Pundit, the first, endeavoured by the warrant or some expression of Sevagi, to establish in the sovereignty; but Morah Pundit was supported in the preference of Sambagee by the greatest part of the soldiery, who had been the companions of his valour and activity in the field, which put an end to Annagee Pundit's intrigue; and he went with Morah Pundit to pay homage to Sambagee at Pannela, who immediately confined him in irons, and came to Rairee, escorted by 5000 horse in the beginning of July, where he met his brother with kindness, and ordered the general rendezvous of the army. 1680

The Siddee having secured the continuance of his own works on the island Hundry, desisted from further attack on Sevagi's at Kenary, and sent a part of his soldiery with some of the smaller vessels to harbour at Mazagong, and with the larger cruised about Dunda Rajapore. At this time the government of Surat, by the especial order of Aurengzebe encreased the duties

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1680.

of all the European imports from 2 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, which was intended to equal their rates to the pole tax established on all his subjects, not Mahomedans, in the empire. This aggrivance encouraged the insolence of the Siddee's people at Bombay. They executed their own justice on the inhabitants, and again brought some of the people they had taken on Sevagi's shores to sell as slaves in the island; but the council released all they got notice of, which were 21 persons, men, women, and children, who when produced were nearly reduced to death by hunger. This happened on the 28th of April: on the 4th of May some of their people were carrying contraband goods, which the guards of the custom-house stopped at Mazagong, and a fray ensued, in which several on both sides were wounded. The next day Siddee Cossim himself came into the harbour with the main body of his fleet, and anchored off the fort without compliment or warning, on which guns were fired on his ships, which forced them to
a fur-

a further distance, and produced a discussion, which at length terminated by the Siddee's consent to refrain from the invasion of the corlahs, conformably to the engagements lately made by the council with Sevagi; but their continuing in the harbour gave so much umbrage to Sambagee, that he sent down troops to the shore, who set to work in preparing means to burn their fleet, but continually deferred the attempt.

On the 1st of August 200 of their men in boats and a dark night, landed on the island of Kenary, and got within the works before they were discovered, but the Siddee's men gathered with resolution and either took or killed the greatest part. 80 heads were brought in baskets to Mazagong, where Siddee Cossim prepared to fix them along the shore on poles, but was interdicted by the council. The ill success and intended insult encreased the resentment of Sambagee: he sent more troops to the corlahs, and threatened the invasion of Bombay, which reinforced its out-posts towards Gallian;

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at length he demanded to confer with an ambassador, whom on account of the expence, the presidency at Surat would not send; on which Sambagee sent his own to the island by name Augée Pundit, a very shrewd man of long service, and high esteem with Sevagi; he was treated with great respect, and procured every kind of intelligence concerning the strength and defences of the island, and saw the Siddee's fleet; which wanting money, continued in the harbour until the 22d. of December, when they sailed down the coast, intending to make a descent again at Vingorlah; but Sambagee had increased his fleet to 60 sail, and reinforced it with 5000 soldiers, which nevertheless could not resist the battery of the Siddees, but sailed much better, and could anchor in much shoaler water; of which advantages Dowlet Caun availed himself; and restricted his operations to observation, which deterred the Siddee from attempting to ravage any part of the coast; so that after various chaces, and accidental fights between the smaller vessels,

1681.

vessels, the season closed without any 1681.
of consequence, and the Siddee returned
to Bombay towards the end of April :
from whence he sailed for Surat on the
3d of May, leaving 500 men on his
island of Hundry, and 6 gallivats with
300 men at Mazagong.

We left Aurengzebe in the beginning of
the year 1680 at Azmire, directing the
war against the Rajpoots, carried on by
two different armies under the command
of his sons Azem, and Acbar. Soon af-
ter, if we can arrange aright, the army of
Azem took the vast and ruined city of
Chitore by surprize : it had been taken
about a century before by the emperor
Acbar, who defaced or demolished all the
edifices of religion and regality, which in
the succession of 1000 years had elevated
its reputation above all the western cities
of Indostan. On this disaster, the Ranah
then reigning, removed his residence and
the seat of government to Oudipore,
where it had continued ever since. Chi-
tore nevertheless did not then lose all its
inhabitants, and the number had been
encreasing,

1681.

encreasing, until this second expulsion; but was nothing near so great, as when taken by Acbar; Aurengzebe destroyed all the objects of Hindoo worship, and every dwelling which had since been either raised or restored. The capture nevertheless did not forward the reduction of the Ranah; for the farther mountains, which environed his residence at Oudipore were insuperable, and the prophanation of Chitore, encreased the desperate defence of the Rajpoots of both principalities.

All the sons of Aurengzebe were brave; but Sultan Mauzum had acquired the love of the soldiery by his generosity and humanity; who perceived little of these virtues either in his father or brothers: whose jealousy this preference raised, which Sultan Mauzum knew; and when sent into the Decan, foresaw that any signal success obtained under his immediate command in the field, would aggravate their latent aversions; and on the other hand that the failure would be imputed to his misconduct alone. In this dilemma, he chose

chose the middle mode of acting as the vicegerent of the emperor in the general superintendency of the province; but left the command of the army to Delire Khan; who was charged to watch all his proceedings. Nevertheless the sultans Azem and Acbar exaggerated the inefficacy of the war against Sevagi; from which Aurengzebe received some consolation, as palliating the failure of his own against the Rajpoots; but ordered Sultan Mauzum to persevere with more activity. Soon after happened the death of Sevagi, when Aurengzebe not expecting the same opposition from his successor, recalled Sultan Mauzum and Delire Khan with the army which had accompanied them into the Decan; and they advanced to Chitore; so that the whole force of the empire, which could with prudence be collected to one destination, was now employed against the two Rajpoot Rajahs, under the command of the three sons of the emperor, and his own inspection.

1681.

Acbar

1681. Acbar was restless, turbulent, arrogant, and mischievous; hating his brothers Mauzum and Azem, as his elders; his father still more, for not preferring his own to their better pretensions to his favour. His army was employed against Joudpore, and lay nearer than the other two to Azmir, where Aurengzebe had reserved for his guard only 4000, but of his best troops. The widow of Joudpore, apprized of the character of Acbar, proffered the assistance of 30000 Rajpoots, to seize the emperor, and proclaim himself. The offer was accepted, and the widow raised a belief that she was assembling the ban of her country, to assist the Ranah with the surplus of her own defence. The negotiation was kept concealed until Acbar communicated it to his astrologer, for the choice of a lucky day. The astrologer apprized Sultan Mauzum; who was perplexed, whether it might not be a contrivance of his father, to try his fidelity; or should the revolt be intended, and yet not take effect, lest he should be suspected of ill will

will to his brother; he however sent the intelligence; to which Aurengzebe gave no credit, until he received it likewise from the astrologer. No time was to be lost, for the Rajpoots had joined; and to gain a day, Aurengzebe wrote an exhortation of filial piety to Acbar, which was answered by an invective of defiance. The armies of Sultan Mauzum and Azem were advancing hastily to his aid; but Acbar was two days nearer, and within one of Azmir; this day was the 11th of January 1781. Aurengzebe bribed the astrologer to proscribe it, and contrived a letter to be intercepted by the commander of the Rajpoots, exhorting Acbar to persevere in the plan of exposing them in front, and of falling upon their rear, during the intended attack of Aurengzebe's camp. The advice corresponded with the resolve of the last council of war, of which Aurengzebe had acquired intelligence. "that the Rajpoots should commence the assault, and Acbar support them with the Mogul troops," This concurrence, with the remembrance

1681. of the former collusion between Aurengzebe and his son Sultan Mauzum in the Decan to inveigle Sevagi, stamped invincible suspicion; and the same night the Rajpoots marched away to their own country, which spread such trepidation in Acbar's army, as disabled him from taking revenge of their desertion; he upbraided all the officers of his council, and especially accused the astrologer, who was not to be found; his general Teaver Caun, wounded by the disappointment of a scheme he had earnestly promoted, as much as by the imputation against his honour, proffered with the ferocity of his nation (for he was a Pitan) to assassinate Aurengzebe before the ensuing noon. He set off, to certain death, with alacrity, and a few attendants; arrived at the camp before the sun, or intelligence of the retreat of the Rajpoots; announced himself as a fugitive from Acbar, returning to his duty to his sovereign, with information of near and immediate importance; and being well known, was permitted to pass to the pavillions of Aurengzebe,

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renzebe, who was asleep; and the weather being very cold, the guard had retired to their room, leaving only a single centinel at the entrance to Aurengzebes apartment, by whom Teaver Cawn was stopt, until the chamberlain came, who ordered him to deliver his sword and dagger before he could be admitted to the presence of the emperor: he refused; high words ensued; and he attacked the chamberlain with the advantage of a coat of mail under his garment; the guards came in on the first outcry, against whom he defended himself desperately, until felled with many wounds. 1681.

The news of his death, and the cause, carried dismay through the camp of Acbar, not yet recovered from their former consternation; bands on all sides marched away, scarcely determined what to do, but most determined to atone for the revolt by returning to the standard of the emperor. Acbar put his treasure with his infant son and daughter and the females of his family on his elephants and camels, and accompanied by his domest-

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1681.

ticks on horseback, struck to the mountains of the Maha Rajah, into which he was admitted with respect. The general convinced that he had been deceived by the artifice of Aurengzebe, apologized; and the widow offered him retreat, or assistance, at his choice. But Acbar only accepted the service of 500 Rajpoots, and the protection of the state to his children and family, whom he left at Joudpore, and departed to the country adjoining to the peninsula of Guzerat, which is likewise possessed by Rajpoots under several petty Rajahs, but in strong situations.

Sultan Mauzum was ordered to follow Acbar, and not to quit the pursuit, until he had taken him; which, knowing his own estimation, and the duplicity of his father, he deemed a dangerous commission; since, if Acbar should fall in action, his death might be imputed to the earnestness of removing a rival: he ventured to explain the dilemma; which Aurengzebe affected not to take amiss, and

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and indemnified the consequence ; Acbar 1681.
was soon after surrounded in a situation,
capable of extreme defence ; but from
which, if properly watched, he could
not escape ; so that famine seemed the
empire ; against which Acbar was like-
wise provided. Mauzum, to save time,
offered him full pardon, and restoration
to the favour of their father, from whom
he had received the silver chains, with
which Acbar was to be fettered ; who
pretended that Rajpoots would prevent his
escape, until he had discharged the arrears
of their pay. The story says, that Sultan
Mauzum sent him 40,000 gold mohurs ;
which if true, proves the high honour of
the Rajpoots ; since the obvious use of the
money was to have sent it to them, if
they could have been bribed to betray
their ward. They seconded Acbar, in a
push through Mauzum's circumvallation,
which seems to have been purposely
neglected, and escaped with him to the
Coolies on the river Mihie, which disem-
bogue at Cambay, from whence he sent
forward the recommendations of the Ra-
nah,

1681. nah, and Joudpore to Sambagee, who immediately invited him into his country, on which Acbar travelling whilst the army of Bahudur Caun was retired into winter quarters, arrived on the 1st of June at Pawlee Gur, a fort and town at the foot of the Gauts, a days journey from the shore opposite to Bombay. His retinue was 400 Rajpoots mounted, a few well armed on foot, and 250 camels carrying his baggage, women, and treasures.

Sambagee was then at Pannela; but his principal officers at Rairee, came down and presented 1000 gold mohurs as a testimony of his homage, which Acbar distributed amongst his rajpoots. None sat in his presence, as Sambagee had declared he himself never should. The whole country flocked in to pay him obeisance, as if he had been the Mogul; all the provisions of his men and animals were daily supplied in abundance and without cost; and whilst waiting the visit of Sambagee, he was continually joined by parties of cavalry, whom he enlisted and at the end of August had 5000 in his own pay.

pay. Whilst others admired why Sambagee did not come, Acbar knew the cause of his continuance at Pannela.

The minister Annagee Pundit, although imprisoned, continued to lead the faction which had endeavoured to give the succession to Ramrajah, and was abetted by his mother. On Acbar's arrival in the Concan, they tendered him the sovereignty of all Sevagis dominions, reserving a provision for Ramrajah, provided Acbar would declare against Sambagee, of whom they undertook to get rid. ✓ Accordingly his meat was poisoned, but discovered to him by an infant, and proved on a dog. Soon after Sambagee received intelligence from Acbar of the overtures which had been made to him by the conspirators, on which he put to death Annagee Pundit. Hargee Pharsang, and 5 others; they were trampled by elephants, 20 more awaited the same fate. Ramrajah was sent to reside in one of the forts of the Carnatic, with a decent appanage, but without any power in the government. Some time after his

1681. his mother died, it is supposed by the procurement of Sambagee ; who in September came to Pawlee Gur, and paid his personal homage, with great respect to Acbar, whom he then conducted to Rairee, giving out that he intended to accompany him with 30000 horse, to Brampore, and there proclaim him emperor of the Moguls. But the boast was scarcely made, before its execution became impracticable.

The escape of Acbar to Sambagee, oppressed Aurengzebe with as much anxiety ; as formerly the phantom of his brother Sujah amongst the Pitans, and the consequences of their alliance became a nearer care than the continuance of the war against the Rajpoots : whose gallant activity precluded any speedy decision of the sword ; but the dignity of the throne forbid any overtures of peace to a resistance which had even attempted the deposal, if not the life of the monarch. A Rajpoot officer, who had long served with distinction under Delire Chan, solved the difficulty ; he quitted
the

the army on the pretence of retiring with what he had acquired to pass the remainder of his life in his own country, and visited the Ranah, as from courtesy, on his journey ; the conversation turned on the war, which the Rajpoot perhaps really lamented, and persuaded the Ranah, that although Aurengzebe would never condescend to make, he might accept, overtures of peace ; on which he was empowered by the Ranah to tender them. The rains having stopped immediate operations in the Decan, Aurengzebe to avoid the appearance of eagerness or necessity protracted the negociation, until the army could move, and then concluded the treaty without assertion or release of the capitation tax ; but with the surrender of the districts of Meirda, which had been taken from Chitore by Schah Jehan : The state of Joudpore was likewise included in the Ranah's, or had a seperate treaty. In the month of September, Aurengzebe began to move from Azmir, and sent forward the two armies commanded by his sons the Sultans Mauzu

1681.

1681.

and Azem, the three armies arrived at their intended stations, nearly at the same time, in the middle of November. Sultan Azim's at Ahmednagur, Mauzum's at Aurengabad, and Aurengzebe himself at Brampore ; from whence he sent orders to hire more ships at Surat, which were to reinforce his own and the Siddee's fleet acting against the fleet and shores of Sambagee, whilst the armies should attack his mountains.

In the mean time the Siddee's gallivats at Hundry, in the various intervals of fair weather during the monsoon, attacked the boats of Bombay going to the corlahs, and were punished by their commander for what they had not been able to take. The council of Bombay to avoid the necessity of revenging these insults on the men at Mazagong, referred their complaints to Surat. Twenty-two of Sambagee's gallivats were sheltered in the river Negotan, and in the middle of July came down 4000 men from Rairee, who after waiting a month for fair weather, failed over
to

to Hundry; but were beaten off with loss after a fight of four hours. The Siddee's gallivats at Bombay elated with this success, failed over to the corlahs and brought away some of the principal inhabitants, who had purchased their protection by an annual tribute, equal to what they paid the government of Rairee, and although several of them as well as the Siddees were mähomedans, they were carried to Hundry and beaten unmercifully; until they deputed one to fetch a ransom of 18000 rupees. As this injury originated in Bombay, where some of the Siddees besides their occasional residence, had purchased houses, and established their families, Sambagee's phousdar or governor on the main remonstrated to the council; whose expostulations with the Siddees availed so little, that a few days after they brought a large vessel which they had taken in the corlahs, in open day close under the fort, from whence it was immediately rescued by the boats on guard.

1681.

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1681.

In the mean Siddee Coffim, to oppose the complaints of the presidency at Surat, instigated the crews of his ships in the river, to demand justice although 16 months had passed, for the value of the 21 miserable prisoners, which the council of Bombay had obliged them to surrender; and the governor encouraged them to beset the English factory, which took up arms and pointed 4 field pieces at the gate, which was kept shut for two days; when the confusion was dissipated by the governor's order, who received a present for this interference of his authority to quell the danger he had abetted; the same influence procured his injunction to the Siddee's people at Bombay to refrain from farther offences, and they continued quiet until the end of October, when Siddee Coffim appeared off the harbour, but with little increase of his former force, for the Mogul's orders to arm more ships had not yet arrived at Surat; but his approach to the Decan was known, and raised the insolence of all his officers with whom the English had
any

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any concern. Accordingly the Siddee 1681.
when pressed by the council of Bombay
to refrain from depredations on the cor-
lahs, or hostilities within the harbour,
denied that he had received any such
orders at Surat, and cruized daily with-
in and without, on all vessels tra-
ding to any part of Sambagee's country,
and even detained one belonging to Bom-
bay which had bought his own pass. All
this while he occupied the town of Ma-
azgong, and every advantage of the
port without controul; for the concern of
lading the company's ships at Surat, pre-
cluded any effectual opposition to his
enormities, which were encreased by the
forbearance.

On the 7th of December he sent
all his gallivats into the corlahs, where
they burnt the town of Abita, which had
recovered from the like detolation in the
year 1673: a few days after the whole
fleet went down to Chaul, and passing
the Portugueze fort at the mouth of the
river without offence, ravaged a large tract
of the adjacent country; but were not able to
assault

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1681. assault the town of Upper Chaul, belonging to Sambagee, nor was the town able to oppose them in the field. On this provocation Sambagee accompanied by Sultan Acbar came down from Rairee with 20,000 men and a vast train of cannon, to Dunda Rajapore in the beginning of January, and from the hill opposite to Gingerah, battered incessantly for 30
1682. days, until all the opposite fortifications were levelled; but a rock in the middle of the island sheltered the garrison, which was commanded by a gallant officer, name Siddee Curry, and Siddee Cossim with his ships plying daily into the bay, deterred Sambagee's fleet from approaching to transport his troops to the attack, who continued on the main without a single boat: but Sambagee bent on his object, resolved to fill up the channel, although 800 yards broad, and 30 deep; with stones and fragments of rock. The idea was great, and not impracticable by the labour of 50000 men in a hundred days; and so many of the fair season remained; but the mound
would

would not have withstood the heavy and outrageous seas of the stormy monsoon. 1682.

The army which Sultan Mauzum had led to Aurengabad in the preceding November had joined the camp at Jenneahgur, from whence a general named Hossanally was sent with 20000 horse and 15000 foot to reduce Sambagee's country towards Salcette and Bombay. They forced the gauts of Decir, after some resistance, less than they expected, and encamped at Gallian on the 4th of February, having to their own future detriment destroyed all the extensive and fair cultivation of the plain within reach of their excursions.

Sambagee immediately returned with Sultan Achar from Dunda Rajapore to Rairee; but left a considerable body of troops to continue the attack on Gingerah, which he quitted himself with much despite against the causes of his disappointment. He threatened the English at Bombay with immediate invasion, if they continued to admit the Siddee's fleet, and warned them of his intention to fortify

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1682.

tify the island of Elephanta within 4 miles of the fort, with which it would then have divided the command of the harbour; he upbraided the Portuguese at Chaul, for suffering the descent of the Siddees into his territory within sight of their walls, and demanded ground under their guns to build a fort, which should controul the landing in future, and to excite more deference, ordered his fleet at Rajapore to take possession of the islands of Anchidiva, intending from thence to enthrall the trade of Goa, as well as to protect his own at Carwar.

The steep shores of the river Pen opposed the march of horse from Gallian into the corlahs; nevertheless 5000 men were stationed to defend the fords, and under their protection a fort was raising at the mouth of the river to prevent the entrance of the Siddee's gallivats. In the corlahs and low country from Negotan to Chaul were 15000 men, and 10000 continued at Dunda Rajapore, in all 30000 on this side the Gauts, besides his fleet which now amounted to 120 gallivats,

gallivats and 15 grabs. On the other side 1682
of the gauts between Satarah and the
pafs of Pondah were ftationed 20000 horfe
to oppofe Sultan Azem from Ahmed-
nagur. The treafuries of Sevagi fup-
plied this expence to the weftward, and
the Carnatic maintained itfelf.

The Siddee with his whole fleet of fmaller
veffels as well as the fhips continued
watching Gingerah until the feafon be-
gan to roughen, and on the 12th of
April came into the harbour of Bombay,
where the Englifh prefidency of Surat
more afraid of the Mogul's difpleafure
than Sambagi's, had ordered their admit-
tance.

As foon as they had taken up their
ftations under the ifland moft of
Sambagi's gallivats, more than a hun-
dred, began to rendezvous from the
fouthward at their intended winter quar-
ters in the river Negotan, and under the
ifland Kendary, which has a bay fit for
fmall craft. During the ftatches of fair
weather feveral skirmifhes paffed between
thefe huffars of the fea, but the Siddees

1682. gallivats had the advantage of making prize of trading boats, without resistance, and of ravaging the defenceless parts of Sambagi's shores without the harbour: from which they brought away the inhabitants; whose noses they cut off in outrage: on which Sambagi prohibited all provisions from the corlahs to Bombay, and the Portugueze always glad of distressing the island, refused any from their lands to the northward, and the scarcity which ensued encreased the price to threefold the usual rates.

The camp at Dunda Ragapore after the departure of Sambagi desisted from the mound, but gathered boats and having demolished the opposite fortifications of Gingerah, made the attack in August, but the unstable footing of the broken rock and surging sea, exposed them with much disadvantage in the assault, and they were beaten off with the loss of 200 men.

The weather having begun to settle, 30 gallivats came out of the river Negotan on the 5th of October, they were com-

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commanded by Siddee Misery, a relation of Siddee Sambole, who, on his removal from the command of the fleet of their community had taken service with Sambagi. Siddee Cossun at Mazagong was apprized, and put off with 15 gallivats crowded with his best men. The fight continued four hours in sight of the fort of Bombay, and ended with victory to the Siddee; who brought back four of the enemy's gallivats, one of which was that in which Siddee Misery hoisted his flag. He was brought ashore at Mazagong mortally wounded; but the council would not permit any other of the prisoners to be landed. Thus much for the operations at sea during this monsoon.

1682.

Aurengzebe had moved from Brampore to Aurengabad in March, in order to be nearer the war against Sambagi. His general Hoffmanally to save his horses from the deluges of the monsoon, repassed the gauts in May to the upper country, where this season is much less violent. Sultan Azim with Bahauder Caun had advanced in February from Aurengabad to Nazir

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1682. Turmeck on the river Gungah and near its source 60 miles to the south west of Aurengabad: their detachments reduced several posts on detached hills, and then uniting sat down before one of greater consequence called Ram deo; on which Hamedrow, at this time the principal general of Sambagi, advanced from Satarah with all the troops of the eastern frontier, to raise the siege. He gave battle and was defeated with the loss of 2000 men, and returned to the strong security of Satarah. At the same time the king of Viziapore menaced by Aurengzebe, and the fear of Sultan Azim's approach to his country, sent his army to attack Sambagi's frontiers opposite to his own capital, where they took a strong fort called Merick; on which Sambagi proposed a defensive alliance against the Mogul; which certainly was the interest of Viziapore. The king demanded the restitution of Pannela, as a preliminary; which as the first acquisition of importance made by Sevagi, as well as its commanding situation towards Viziapore, was highly

highly rated by the Marratoe government; 1682.
and Sambagi preferred the danger of refusal to the dishonour of acquiescence.

The fleet which Aurengzebe had ordered to be prepared at Surat was ready to sail in the beginning of November; Dowlet Caun continued under Sambagi in the post of Admiral in chief, to which he had been raised by Sevagi, and was at Negotan with the main division of gallivats when Siddee Misery was defeated; he had formed various, but ineffectual schemes to burn the Siddee's fleet, and now received positive orders from Sambagi to invade Bombay at all events, before the arrival of the Mogul's; on which the militia of the island was raised; but the apprehension was soon removed by the arrival of an embassador from Sambagi, sent expressly to inform them, that he had received certain intelligence from Bahauder Caun, whom he had bribed, that Aurengzebe intended to take Bombay from the English by surprize, and afterwards reduce Bassein and Daman belonging to the Portuguese; that Sambagi,

sensible

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1682. sensible of the great danger to which his own country would be exposed by the Mogul's possession of these fortresses, proposed a defensive alliance with the English, to operate on occasion; that relying on his assistance they should forbid the Siddee the resort of their harbour, and refuse admittance to the Mogul's fleet coming from Surat; he requested that one of the council might accompany the return of his ambassador to Rairee.

It chanced at this time that the company's trade on the coast of Coromandel required the favour of Sambagi's authority; a valuable part of the investment provided at Madras was manufactured in those parts of the Carnatic to the south, which was first reduced by Viziapore, and afterwards by Sevagi. In the year 1673 application had been made to the Viziapore governor of Gingee, for permission to establish other factories in that territory, besides the one which the company already had at Conimeer; but nothing was concluded before the invasion of Sevagi in 1677, after which the intention

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intention was suspended until the end of the year 1681, when Mr. Elihu Yale, second to the president Mr. Gyfford, was deputed to Hargee Rajah commanding at Gingee, and procured a factory at Cuddalore. A ship had been sent with the same intention from Madras to Porto Novo, in July of the present year 1682; but the Morattoe governor there, not wholly dependent on Hargee Rajah, demanded such exorbitant terms that the ship returned with the factors and cargo. Even Hargee Rajah had imposed an additional duty on all the cloth provided for the company within his immediate districts. In consequence, the council of Madras requested the presidency at Surat to procure a phirmaund from Sambagee for the abolishment of the impost, with his permission to build a fort somewhere near Cuddalore, and his order for the punishment of the governor of Porto Novo. The presidency at Surat had recommended this negotiation to Bombay, as nearer Raicee, a few days before Sambagi's ambassador arrived there, whose intelligence concerning the Mogul's

1682.

gul's intentions was corroborated by the Portugueze governor of Bassein, and the return of the Mogul's army down the gauts to Gallian, but under the command of another general, named Ramnaut Caun.

The embassador unfortunately became a witness of the very injuries of which he complained; the Siddee, vexed at the necessity of his departure, to give place to the Mogul's fleet, no longer regarded any measure of decency with Bombay, but continually made descent for plunder in some part or other of the corlahs, and on the 28th of November his gallivats entered the river Pen, where little had been done to the intended fort, and brought 200 prisoners to Mazagong, which the council dared not resent, excepting by expostulation; to which he replied that this was his harvest, for when the Mogul's fleet arrived, he should get nothing.

This fleet began to appear on the 28th of November, and bringing the acquiescence of the presidency of Surat, sailed into the harbour without the compliment
of

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of notice, and having anchored their vessels, landed 3000 soldiers at Mazagong, who were all moors, and men of service, whose insolent deportment would have persuaded a stranger that the whole island belonged to them, and that the English held the fort on sufferance; which was obliged to watch its gates with every precaution against treachery and surprize. 1682]

On the 20th of December Sambagi's embassador with one of the council sailed for the river Negotan in the company's baloon, or boat of ceremony, which was attended by a luggage boat. Both were boarded at the entrance of the river, and particular search was made for the embassador, who lay concealed, and was afterwards set on shore in the mud to get to Rairee as he could; but the gallivats carried off the luggage boat. The outrage was represented to Ramnaut Caun at Gallian, by a deputation from the council, which he received with much solemnity and protracted the negotiation in expectation of a present, which the
Y council

1682.

council referred to the presidency at Surat, for whose consent they waited a month, when they gave Ramnaut Caun 5000 rupees, and his lieut. general Rohilla Caun some claret, which produced an injunction to the officers of both fleets to refrain from depredations in the corlahs, or any insult to the government of Bombay, which in the interval they had exercised with extreme licentiousness.

In this year 1682, the English company's factors were expelled from Bantam in the island of Java, where the settlement was rated as an agency equal with Calcutta and Madrafs, responsible only to Surat, and having subordinate factories at Siam, Tonquin, Emoy and Jamboo. The Dutch ever since they got possession of Batavia had gradually annihilated, or reduced to subjection all the principalities of Java, which bordered on the coast, excepting the king of Bantam, who being old and voluptuous resigned the government to his son, but stipulated that he should keep in office the

two

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two ministers, who had been his own: 1682:
but the new king, as soon as settled, put
them both to death; on which the prin-
cipal lords or orankays revolted, and put-
ting the old king at their head, had very
nearly reduced his son in the fortress of
his palace; when the Dutch at Batavia
sent a strong force, which beat and dis-
persed the confederacy, and took the
old king prisoner; after which, on their
injunctions, their ally obliged all the Eng-
lish to quit the city; and the Dutch now
pretending hospitality, received them with
what effects they could save, at Batavia;
from whence they proceeded in ships of
their own, or hired, some to Surat, others
to England. The trade of the subordinates
did not long survive the loss of the prin-
cipal factory, and all together with con-
sequences was rated in the public memo-
rials at 400000 pounds sterling.

Sultan Azim having reduced the fort
of Merick reposed his army during the
rains, and took the field again in Novem-
ber. Delhire Khan now acted as his

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1682. lieutenant general. They advanced between Rairee and Satarah, and threatened both. But Sambagi in person and all his Morattoes exerted themselves with redoubled activity to protect their capitals, and the mountains lay thick to assist their interruptions and ambuscades, which harrassed the Mogul's troops with continual alerts, and every where checked their progress; who as usual blamed their generals, and murmured at this barren and impracticable war. In the month of
1683. February the king of Viziapore died, on which Aurengzebe ordered Sultan Azim to march into that kingdom, in order to try what advantage would be taken of this event.

The two fleets likewise sailed from Bombay in the beginning of February, the Mogul's made some descents on Sambagi's coasts, but effected nothing either of damage or gain adequate to the strength and expence of their equipment. The Siddee kept cruizing near his station off Gingerah, and Sambagi's fleet out of reach

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reach of both, who in the middle of March returned to Bombay, where the Siddee paying no regard to the injunctions of Ramnaut Caun renewed his depredations on the corlahs. On the 20th of April, although a month remained of the fair season, orders came to the Mogul's fleet to return to Surat, and at the same time Ramnaut Caun's army was recalled from Gallian, and Sultan Azim with his from Viziapore. No one knew the reason excepting Aurengzebe himself, who gave out that he intended to return to Delhi. 1683.

In the beginning of the year one of the Company's ships, named the president, which had been bravely defended by the same captain, Hyde, against the Dutch fleet at Metchlepatam, arrived on the Malabar coast, and proceeding to Bombay, was attacked off Sanguaseer by 2 ships and 4 grabs: 3 of the grabs grappled; the crew of 1 boarded, were beaten off, and the grab itself sunk close alongside; the two others were cleared, and one of them blew up so near that the
flash

1683. flash scorched many of the president's men in the lower deck, and set her on fire in 16 places: soon after the other grab sunk likewise; on which the remainder of the squadron sailed away. Of the floating men some cut the president's long-boat from the stern, and others were received into the ship. Most of them were Arabs, and all the fleet from Muscat: they pretended to have mistaken the president for a Portuguese ship which they were waiting for; but it was afterwards discovered at Rajapore, that they had all been hired by Sambagi. The president had 11 men killed and 35 wounded, and was obliged to put into Goa to repair her damages. As soon as this event was known at Bombay, the councillor before intended, was sent again, and arrived at Rairee, to whom Sambagi utterly denied any knowledge of the Arabs, but consented to grant the privileges requested for the Company's trade in the Gingee country on the coast of Coromandel; but the councillor, from some intemperance, if not disorder, of mind, came away abruptly

abruptly whilst the writings were preparing. 1683.

The Siddee's fleet continued after the departure of the Mogul's with their usual licentiousness in the harbour, and their usual insolence on shore: the soldiers of the garrison frequented the same market at Mazagong, and two of them going thither unarmed, were, on some quarrel, cut down by two of the Siddee's pitans; one died the next day, and the other was recovered with difficulty. Siddee Cossim sent off the murderer privately to Surat, where the English presidency demanded him, in order to be tried at Bombay, and the governor of the city had nearly consented, when an outrage committed against the Siddee at Bombay impaired the claim.

The murder was committed in May, and in July the crazy councillor with others from the shore dined on board a ship just arrived from England; the company, heated with wine, went on board the Siddee's admiral, knowing that Siddee Cossim himself was on board: they used
abusive

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1683. abusive language, and the captain drew his sword, which was wrested from him, and he was wounded in the leg : all were easily overpowered, and put into their boat : the captain, as soon as returned to his ship, fired her whole broadside into the Siddee's, who did not return a shot. Signals and messengers from the shore stopped a repetition of the outrage, and expresses were dispatched by the council, before it was known on shore what mischief had been done, to anticipate the Siddee's complaint at Surat ; where all the English continued for two days under the utmost apprehensions of the populace, who, although restrained by the governor from immediate violence, crowded the streets, impatient to know what Mahomedan blood they should have to revenge ; but fortunately no one was killed in the Siddee's ship, and only 2 or 3 were slightly wounded.

The design which Sambagi had formed in the preceding year, to take possession of the islands of Anchidiva, had been prevented by the government of Goa, who

who in July sent foldiers, artificers, and inhabitants, to settle and defend the islands; on which Sambagi ordered his officers in the conquered country adjoining the territory of Goa, to commit such hostilities as their force enabled; and mutual attacks and incursions, but of no great moment, had continued between them until the setting in of the rains in this year, when Sambagi, as regardless of seasons as his father, came down the gauts in June with 30000 men, and from his own town of upper Chaul, invested the neighbouring citadel of the same name belonging to the Portugueze; but could make little progress against the advantages of European defence and fortification. To retaliate, the Viceroy of Goa took the field as soon as the fair weather returned in September, with 1200 Europeans and 25,000 natives of his own territory: a fleet of small vessels cruized at the same time from Anchidiva on the trade of Carwar, and even into the river. The army carried fire and sword even into the temples, and the Inquisition

Z

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1683. fition burnt the prisoners. The stationary force in this part of Sambagi's country was not equal to the Viceroys, who advanced and laid siege to the castle of Pondah; on which Sambagi, accompanied by Sultan Acbar, set off from Chaul with 8000 horse and 14,000 foot, in order to raise this siege, but without discontinuing his own against Chaul. By this time Sultan Acbar was convinced of the inability of Sambagi's alliance to contest the throne of the Moguls against the power of his father Aurengzebe; he therefore resolved to quit India, and on some excuse withdrew from the operations of the field, and took up his residence at Bicholin, within 20 miles of Goa.

Sambagi came in sight of Pondah, when breached in three places, and the assault intended in two days. The Viceroy did not break up his camp until surrounded, which reduced him to the options of famine, retreat, or surrender. The distance to Goa was 30 miles, nevertheless he resolved to force his way. Every step was harrassed by horse and
foot,

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foot, to which the line abandoned the baggage and heavy artillery before the close of the first day: they lost 200 Europeans and 1000 of the natives, before they reached the island of Cumbareem, which is separated from the city by a channel of the river, and from the main land by another. A sufficient number of boats armed with peteraroes were prepared to secure the passage over both. Sambagi's infantry got boats, in which 3000 of them passed into the island, when the Portuguese boats rowing round intercepted their return, who, when thus confined, were attacked by the retreating army, and most of them destroyed. This was the first trial of regular hostility between an European power and the Morattoes, to whom it may be deemed successful; for the Portuguese did not venture to appear abroad again, and as their pride would not permit them to ask assistance, they proposed an alliance to Aurangzebe.

Sambagi observing with vexation, that the Portuguese had made greater pro-

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1683. gress in the attack of Pondah, in ten days, than his father had been able in 3 months, intirely demolished the fort, which then stood upon lower ground, and set the whole country to work to raise another on a neighbouring hill, which is the fort of Pundah, existing at this day.

Sambagi's army continuing master of the field, distressed at least the luxuries of Goa, during which he led himself a detachment against the Rajah of Sundah, who although his tributary had assisted the Portuguese. During this expedition, Sambagi gave a signal instance of devotion to his religion. A Mahomedan of rank, who commanded one of his grabs bought a cow at Carwar, and killed it for his meal, on which Sambagi put him publicly to death. Discipline alone would scarcely have revenged it's interdict with so much severity; but it is a solemn oath amongst the Hindoos to put the hand upon the head of a cow, and to imprecate. "may I eat the flesh of this animal."

In the mean time Sultan Acbar at Bicholin had purchased a ship at Goa which
came

came to Vingorlah; when he repaired to the Dutch factory there, and from thence on board. It was impossible that his intentions could have been concealed from Sambagi, for they were known to Aureugzebe at Aurengabad; but respect to his high birth and quality prevented any opposition to his will, and Sambagi might suppose that Acbar had held out this purpose of departure only to excite his own exertions in his support, which had been promised for two years without the least effect; but as soon as he was on board, Sambagi deputed to him his lieutenant general, and Cablis Caun the minister of his pleasures, whose protestations prevailed on him to come ashore again.

1683.

The report of the country said that Sambagi would take Goa, which Aurengzebe did not deem improbable, and although he always affected to despise the European settlements, saw what would be the importance of the acquisition to Sambagi's power, and therefore views of Sultan Acbar, and therefore moved

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1683. moved from Aurengabad to Ahmed Nadjur, in order to be nearer the protection of Goa, as well as to the war of Viziapore, which he had determined to renew. At the same time he ordered his own fleet and the Siddee's to sail down the coast to co-operate in the plan he had formed : his own fleet was at Surat, and not ready ; the Siddee's at Bombay, waiting for money from Surat without which he would not stir, and did not sail until the beginning of November. On their arrival at Vingorlah, they burnt the ship which Sultan Acbar had left there ; on which the Siddee wrote a pompous account to Surat and the Mogul's court, of a narrow escape of the Sultan's ; because he had taken one of his servants in a boat.

As soon as they had left the harbour of Bombay, the gallivats of Sambagi came out of Negotan and Hundery, to assist the siege of Chaul, but could not prevent a Portuguese frigate from landing a supply of military stores and provisions. The direction of the Mogul's force to the southward having relieved Rairee and Satarah
from

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from the sollicitude of defence, an army of 15000 men came down in December and encamped at Gallian, from whence they ravaged all the Portugueze country between Bassein and Daman, not under the cannon of these fortifications, and reduced 7 of their out forts: on the 24th a detachment in gallivats from the river Pen, took possession of the island of Caranjah, which lieth at the bottom of the harbour of Bombay, and likewise belonged to the Portugueze, who had stationed gallivats from Bassein to prevent the landing, which were not sufficient. 1683.

At this time the company's interests were doom'd to suffer more detriment from their fellow subjects, than they had hitherto endured from all the governments of India; The charters and acts of parliament had not given them distinctly, although intended, the privilege of exclusive trade, and the spirit of commerce, which sees its drifts with eagle's eyes, formed associations at the risque of trying the consequence at law, being
safe

1683. safe at the outset and during the voyage, since the statutes did not authorize the company to seize or stop the ships of these adventurers; whom they called interlopers. The first, under the direction of one Say, arrived in the month of September 1682 at Muscat, on the Arabian shore, where he settled a factory, intending to draw to this port the trade he wanted from India. Another ship came to Goa in October,; three were going to Bengal, and one coming to Surat, where the presidency discovered by intercepted letters; that two of the council Petit and Boucher, had not only encouraged, but taken part in some of the interloping ships; on which they were dismissed the company's service, and took the protection of the Mogul's government in the city, to whom they revealed whatsoever they supposed might produce mischief, and promised the governor a present out of the cargoes they expected. The presidency demanded their persons as debtors to the company, in which case the phirmaunds granted by three Moguls disclaimed

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disclaimed the protection of English subjects; but Petit and Boucher counteracted this plea by procuring merchants of the city, who were subjects of the Mogul, to demand their detention for debts to themselves; so that after a short and civil confinement, both were released without other restraint than an eye watch; when several discontented Englishmen, who traded with the company's licence, although not in their service, joined in community with them, and all together preferred a petition to the Mogul for a separate trade, and requested that Petit and Boucher might come to his court. In the mean time the three ships that went to Bengal had met with zealous advice and assistance from Vincent and Pitt, who had been principal agents of the company, but lately dismissed for irregularities. Hitherto the company grounded on the first phirmaunds obtained by Boughton from Sultan Sujah, in 1636, had paid no customs to the Bengal government, until the three last years, when the same rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent which was le-

1683.

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1683. vied at Surat, was demanded; but not to establish a precedent, this claim, as often as it arose, had been put to sleep with presents. But the interlopers, directed by Vincent, paid the customs willingly, and made presents into the bargain; which facilitated their dealings, and the three ships sailed with full cargoes for England in January, within four months after their arrival. Chæst Khan, the uncle of Aurengzebe, was at time nabob of Bengal, to which he had been removed in 1666, in consequence of his adventure with Sevagi. He was as avaricious as the meanest of his dependants, and took the greatest share of what they had got from the interlopers; and from his hunger of these new perquisites recommended the utilities of the interloping trade to Aurengzebe, who, in deference to his opinion, gave the phirmaund which Petit and Boucher were soliciting. It arrived at Surat in June, with permission for them to come to court; on which they set out their equipages to be admired at the city gates; but whilst loitering there, Sir
John

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John Child, the president, prevailed on the governor to delay their passports, under pretence of informality in the Mogul's permission. In the mean time a counter order was procured, on which Petit and Boucher discharged their preparations for the journey, and continued seemingly quiet in the city: but, two months after, in the beginning of September, Boucher went away privately, and got to Aurengabad. In October, a ship called the Society, of 100 tons, which had long been expected by Petit, arrived at Daman; and on his petition to the governor of Surat, was permitted to come into the river, where he managed her business. 1683.

Both Petit and Boucher, by their long continuance and late rank in the company's service, were connected with many others; and on their apostacy corresponded with their intimates at Bombay, representing the interlopers as protected by the King, and encouraged by the sense of the nation, averse to the company, as a monopoly, to the ruin of which, whosoever might contribute, would (as they

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1683. pretended) have little to fear. At this time the regular military at Bombay were 400 men, rated as Europeans, although mixed with Topasses. The highest commission was a captain, and only one of this, which was held by Keigwin, who had served with approbation against Kendary in 1674. The Europeans were equally divided into three companies, of which he commanded the first; the other two were commanded by Fletcher and Thornburn, who were only lieutenants. The directors in England had lately disapproved of several allowances to the military officers; and had even reduced the rate of exchange, at which the common soldiers, as well as they, were paid; and not content with establishing new regulations for the future, insisted that the officers should refund the surplus of what they had received, beyond the reform. The officers remonstrated with hardy discontent; but the company's orders were positive, and were enforced with pertinacity by the supreme council at Surat, which was imputed to the haughty austerity of the president Sir John Child. The officers
long

long indulged in licentious manners, formed a conspiracy amongst themselves, and secured the concurrence of the soldiery, without exciting even a surmise of their intentions in the council of the island; and indeed the enormity of the attempt precluded the suspicion. 1683.

On the 24th of December, Keigwin, backed by the guard of the fort, seized the deputy governor, Mr. Charles Ward, with the four members of the council. The inhabitants without, saw the whole body of the troops ready to support their officers, and attempted no resistance: a proclamation was issued, vesting the government of the island in Keigwin, Fletcher, Thornburn, and two ensigns, as a council: who declared their intention of holding it for the King, and menaced pain of death against all attempts to recover it for the company. Three days after arrived the Hunter frigate, commanded by Alderton, bound with merchandize and treasure from Surat for the factories at Carwar and Callicut; and Alderton was prevailed upon to deliver the cargo to the rebels, and to
continue

1683. continue in the command of the vessel in their service. Three days after one of the company's ships from England came into the harbour; the captain went ashore, and as walking to the fort, was met by a friend, who told him what had happened, on which he returned to his ship, fired upon by some small arms from the soldiers, and sailed to Surat, where he brought the first authentic information of the revolt.

1684. Six of the company's ships, with their usual compliment of 100 seamen, were at this time in the road of Swally, of which three were taking in their ladings for England. On the 6th of January, the other three ships were dispatched to Bombay with three members of the presidency empowered to treat with the rebels, who neither heeded their proposals, nor would make any of their own, and had sent away all the late council of the island, excepting the deputy governor. The ships nevertheless continued in the harbour, and on the 30th of January arrived the other three from Surat, with Sir John Child, who formally summoned the

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the rebels to surrender the island on pain of high treason, which only exasperated them the more, and they had well nigh resolved to imprison the two commissioners who brought the summons on shore. The three ships for England were soon after dispatched; but Sir John Child continued with the others in the harbour until the 20th of February, when convinced that all his endeavours of accommodation would be ineffectual, he returned with them to Surat, and on the way left factors at Versova, on Salcette, to gain intelligence, with little hopes of any good. 1682.

In the beginning of this year, 1684, commenced the operations of Aureng zebe against Sambagi, towards Goa; when sultan Mauzum with a vast army, of which 40000 were cavalry, forced the gauts, with little resistance; and met leis in the plaine country; for Sambagi sensible that his force could not stand before them in the field, left garrisons in his strong holds, and retired with the main body of his army to Rajapore, be-

1684.

tween which and Goa are six rivers. The Mogul's army spread down to the sea between Goa and the river Cary, which bounds the present territory of Molundy. They fed on the herds and harvests of the field, and after collecting all the grain in store, burnt the towns and villages, and Sultan Mauzum, to please his father still more, defiled and destroyed the pagodas, and sacked Vingorlah with fury for having given refuge to Sultan Acbar; but the Dutch factory defended themselves from their windows, until they had bought off the attack.

The stock of provisions in the country were not sufficient to sustain this wasteful multitude. The Mogul's fleet from Surat escorting many transports with grain arrived towards the end of January off the bar of Goa, and the admiral relying on the appearance of intended relief to the Portuguese, failed on to enter the harbour; but the viceroy had discovered that he was secretly instructed to seize the city, and keep it for the Mogul; and forbade the entrance by the fire of the batteries

teries which command it. On this repulse the fleet returned to the entrance of the river Bardez, where they landed their provisions, which were but a short supply to such a host, and the convoys from the inland continually failed by the difficulty of the carriage over the mountains; which this increasing necessity obliged Sultan Mauzum to repass in the beginning of March, but he encamped within twenty miles of the ridge, waiting his father's orders, either to join his brother sultan Azim, who was acting with another army against Viziapore; or to return into the Concan, if Sambagi should again press upon Goa. At the same time the two fleets returned to Bombay and Surat, and soon after Sambagi from Rajapore to Rairee, sending back his troops from thence to repossess the country they had abandoned to the Moguls, in which they met with no resistance, but were deterred by the vicinity of sultan Mauzum, from the immediate renewal of hostilities against Goa; where the government, convinced of the

1684. danger of any alliance with Aurenzebe, made overtures of peace to Sambagi, for which he demanded five millions of rupees.

The Siddee's fleet was received with welcome by the rebels at Bombay; and on this encouragement infested the opposite shores belonging to Sambagi, without endeavouring to conceal their cruizes; which produced a total prohibition of all provisions from thence to the island: and the Portugueze, as heretofore, from envy to its prosperity, now from respect to good government, had refused the rebels all assistance, or supply, from Salcette and their northern lands. Want prevailed, and Alderton was sent with the *Revenge* to bring grain from Surat, which Petit was to provide. She arrived on the 24th of March, at Swally, where the three ships of the company were taking in their loadings: they anchored close and threatened to board; discussion ensued, and Alderton, on the promise of pardon, surrendered the frigate. On this disappointment Petit went privately from the city

city on board a ship of his own, which the governor's pass protected from the company's, and proceeded in her to Bombay, where he became a welcome adviser to the rebels. 1684.

Their councils not utterly devoid or national loyalty, but hoping the establishment of a new company, provided for a general concern by sending an ambassador to Sambagi at Rairee, to require the completion of former agreements, with redress of late violations, and to solicit the phirmaunds desired by the government of Madras for their trade in the Gingee country. Sambagi, from the fear of desperate resolutions in men, who were holding nothing, they were not sure to lose, treated the ambassador, who was an Englishman, with much attention. He confirmed the articles allowed by Sevagi to Mr. Oxenden; agreed to pay 2600 pagodas remaining due, according to his own accounts, for compensation of the losses formerly sustained in the pillage of Rajapore, Hubely, and Huttany. In the Gingee country he granted a factory at Cuddalore and Thevenapatam,

1684.

with the ancient immunities allowed by Viziapore to the factory at Conimere, and allowed free trade at Porto Novo. Keigwin and his council are named in the patents as the parties to whom the grants are made.

On the 15th of July one of the company's ships, called the East-India Merchant, arrived in the harbour with 50 foldiers for the garrison; whom the commander, Davis, a weak man, was seduced to land for the sake of selling his private adventure to the rebels, although at the same time he acknowledged the authority of the presidency at Surat; who ordered him to continue in the harbour, and sent two vessels, with two of the council, to superintend all the three in preventing the rebels from getting provisions. Soon after came an interloper from England, who attempted intercourse with the shore, but was beaten out of the harbour by the fire of the East India Merchant, and proceeded to Surat. In September, two ships bound thither from France, put into the harbour, where

where they continued several days, and supplied the rebels with refreshments and abundance of wine. On the 2d of October another trading ship, belonging to Petit, got under the guns of the fort. A few days after they received intelligence, that a ship of 80 guns, which the company had purchased, and named Charles the second, was in sight of Surat, having on board 250 soldiers and the captain a commission from the king against pirates, on which authority the presidency intended to employ her in reducing the island. On this news Petit, in his ship, sailed out of the harbour in the night of the 20th of October, unnoticed by the East India Merchant and the smaller vessels on watch. Two days after his ship was attacked off the head land of St. John's by several Singanian vessels, and the ship took fire by an explosion of powder, which scorched many of the crew, and all got into the long-boat and yawl, The yawl gained the land, but the long-boat was taken, and in her Petit, who had received a concussion

1684. sion of the brain by a fall as jumping into her. The boat was carried to Gogo, where he died a few days after.

On the 3d of November Sir Thomas Grantham arrived in the Charles the second, empowered by the presidency to treat with the rebels. They were pressed by scarcity, and admitted a conference which lasted six days; and when articles were nearly concluded, one of the soldiers in the toot fired a pistol at Sir Thomas Grantham, in hopes of breaking off the treaty by this act of treachery, which, however, his comrades and officers disavowed, and signed the articles; which granted amnesty and pardon of all crimes and misdemeanors to all persons, and even restoration to their former ranks and employments in the company's service; which most accepted; but not Keigwin, who only stipulated for his passage to England with Grantham, and soon after sailed with him to Surat, where he set no restraint to the antipathy of his invectives against Sir John Child.

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The fort and island was surrendered on the 11th of November, nearly 11 months after they had been wrested from the legal government. The revolt began, continued, and ended without bloodshed; excepting in a drunken quarrel at table, when Keigwin was wounded by his second Thornburn. At first all who openly disavowed their authority, were either imprisoned, restrained, or sent off the island, but they kept the deputy governor, Mr. Ward, in close confinement to the end. They destroyed the dwelling-house of Alderton, in revenge of his defection. They had cautiously refrained from opening the treasure, which he surrendered to them with the Hunter frigate. Nor did they use any of the company's property, unless for public service, such as the diet, cloathing, and arming of the garrison, and for maintaining the works and vessels. They raised money by the established taxes, with additions which were judiciously imposed. They kept on fair terms with the Siddee, but watched against surprize either from him or Sambagi,

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1684. bagi, both of whom would have given much for the island.

The negotiation between Goa and Sambagi had continued, and in June a person of distinction was sent from Bassein to Rairee; but Sambagi persisted in his demand of five millions of rupees, which the Portuguese were unable to pay, and farther correspondence ceased, on which, as soon as the rains were over; the fleet of Bassein surprized and retook the island of Caranjah; and soon after Sambagi, accompanied by Sultan Ecbar, came down the gauts with 15,000 horse to Gallian, from whence they spread ravage through the Portuguese country as far as Daman.

In the war of Viziapore sultan Azim had been defeated in two pitched battles, before the end of June, and in the last was dangerously wounded; which, with his ill fortune, and the rains, stopped his farther operations; and even Aurengzebe pretended to take time for consideration; but the perseverance of his mind left no doubt of the result; and the king of Golcondah,

condah, convinced that the fall of Viziapore would draw on his own, entered into a secret confederacy with this king. The country of Misore was at this time divided amongst several rajahs, of whom the most ancient and considerable was he of Seringapatam ; and all of them had paid tribute to Viziapore, whilst able to defend its own territory against the Mogul, without withdrawing the troops necessary to awe its tributaries. But their hommages had lately failed, and could not be reclaimed, from the want of a military force. Golcondah, from Gandicotah, and its frontier to the south west, had immediate entrance into Misore, and troops unemployed sufficient to invade the country ; which continuing no longer of use to Viziapore, the king consented that Golcondah should keep what parts of it he might conquer ; who in return supplied Viziapore with a vast sum of money, and both sent a great deal to induce Sambagi to act against the Mogul in conformity with the operations of Viziapore.

1684.

1684.

Disturbances in the interior part of the empire at this time required attention. The city of Agra and all its roads had for many years been infested by bands of robbers, who at length had blended into one community, which since the continuance of Aurenzebe in the Decan, had become superior in number and military effort to the established forces of the province. The Rajpoots of Joudpore and Chitore had, during the two last years, beset the roads of Malva and Guzerat, and in this threatened more effectual hostilities. But neither these nor the distresses in the province of Agra availed with Aurengzebe to abate his exertions of conquest in the Decan.

Sultan Mauzum waiting his father's resolutions, continued with his army near the gauts of Goa, after he had repassed them in March: and in September, immediately after the rains, his camp was afflicted by a pestilence, of which 500 died in a day: nevertheless the resignation of ignorance and predestination sought not the remedy by removing to more open ground.

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Sambagi having swept the Portuguese country to the north of Salcette, encamped before Bassein, which he invested on all sides, excepting the sea, which he could not command; but receiving intelligence that a large body of the Mogul's troops were advancing to force the gauts and descend to Gallian, he broke up his camp on the 24th of November, and marched away to the northward, ravaging within forty miles of Surat, where the terror was great; but mistaken; for they turned through the mountains, which in this part are more open, and proceeded towards Rairee. On the way one of his generals obtained his permission to go with the troops of his command, which were two thousand horse, to make their ablutions in the Gunga at Naffir Turmeck. The day after, Sambagi discovered that they intended, after their ceremonies, to desert to the Mogul; on which he detached six thousand horse under pretence of the same pilgrimage; which might be credited, as every Morattoe is obliged to wash

1684. at least once a year in the Gunga, and in preference at Naffir Turmeck. The deserters received their pursuers as companions, who attacked, and, according to the report of the country, slew every man of them.

1685. Towards the end of the ensuing January, which brings us into the year 1685, ten thousand horse set off from Rairee under four generals, and ravaged as far as Brampore, with more than ordinary haste and devastation. We learn this from the English factors at Drongom, who had but two hours to escape, and every house in the town was either pillaged or burnt. The whole country was in flames, Aurengzebe dispatched six thousand horse from Ahmednagar, under the command of Bahaudur Caun, who never came within six days of the pursuit. He soon after sent his son Caunbuxsh with 12000 more to command at Brampour; which was his first establishment in public business.

Ahmednagar, where Aurengzebe was residing, is 130 miles to the north of the city

city of Viziapore. Sultan mauzum's encampment at the foot of the gauts was about the same distance to the south west. Sultan Azim had renewed the war in the northern division of Viziapore, and in February took the fort of Solapore, which was considered as the strongest bulwark of the capital towards Ahmednagur; probably by the aid of treachery, as the whole force of Viziapore was assembled on this side to oppose him.

At this time sultan Mauzum, by his father's orders, was advancing on the westward, and met with no resistance in the field. Gocuck, Hubely, and several other towns of note surrendered without resistance, and the stronger citadel of Darwar with little. From hence he advanced thirty miles farther to Guduck, which is sixty from Viziapore; when to interrupt his farther progress, 15000 horse were detached from the main army, who encamped within ten miles of sultan Mauzum's, moving as they moved, and cut off his convoys.

Bullul

1685.

Bullul and Serjee Caun were the two principal officers in the government of Viziapore, whose long continued enmity the danger of the state had reconciled. Their abilities in the field equalled any of the officers of Aurengzebe, and the cavalry of Viziapore serving under hereditary lords of the land, of which they themselves had portions either by inheritance, or granted for military service, were braver and better equipped in proportion to their numbers than any in Indostan, which alone accounts for their frequent victories over the Moguls. In April what remained with Bullul and Serjee Caun routed sultan Azim's army in a general battle, which quelled all dangers in the field, until the rains secured their winter quarters, after which each both armies defied each other again, and in October sultan Azim was again defeated. These repeated experiments of ill success induced Aurengzebe to order a cessation of all offensive hostilities, until he should himself arrive to conduct the war.

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The government of Goa, to retaliate the ravage of their northern territory, spirited several of Sambagi's Devoys in Sundah and Carwar to revolt, and assisted them with 300 topasses: these hostilities commenced in February, ceased with the rains, and were renewed with the fair season. Sambagi, intent on operations against the Mogul, sent no reinforcements, and ordered what troops and officers remained faithful, to retire into the forts they had not lost; but his fleet of two ships and five grabs stationed at Rajapore cruized on the trade of the Portuguese and the revolted coast; nor was the marine force at Goa sufficient to oppose them. In October he sent off a body of 6000 horse from Rairee, which crossed the Tapti and Nerbedda, and assaulted the city of Broach within a few hours after their approach was known; several parts of the wall were in ruins, and the governor and several officers were killed in the onset, after which the garrison bewildered were glad to save their lives by laying down their arms.

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1685. The Morattoes, as soon as quiet was restored, proclaimed sultan Acbar, Mogul, and continued exacting ransoms and collecting plunder until the subah of Ahmedabad began to advance with the troops of the province, on which they went off unmolested with their booty. Surat was in the utmost consternation, and began to remove to Swally. From this period we are deprived of cotemporary details concerning the operations of Sambagi.

In December Aurengzebe with his own army from Ahmednagar joined his son sultan Azim's at Solapore, and called up sultan Mauzum with his from Guduck. Either of the three were little inferior in numbers to the whole army of Viziapore. But Aurengzebe, who although never moved by personal danger, always avoided the brunt of arms, whensoever he could gain his ends by other means, lavished promises and money to procure defections; which, although operating by degrees, left him in no doubt of the final success; of which he determined to give the honour

nour to Sultan Azim ; but as the continuance of his eldest son, sultan Mauzum, in reach of operations he should not command, would have marked a partiality disgustful to the better part of his armies, he removed the dilemma, by sending him off to attack the King of Golcondah, of whose concert with Viziapore and Sambagi, he had acquired information. 1686.

The King of Golcondah, weak and voluptuous, was intirely governed by two bramins, Anconah and Moodapah, whom he had constituted by patent the principal ministers of the government ; their rule was insolent, mean, and avaritious. They had conferred most of the civil offices of the state on persons either of their own cast or religion, to the great disgust of the Mahomedans, who held most of the principal commands in the army, and composed the whole body of cavalry, which was considered as the bulwark of the kingdom. No one abominated the dissonant influence of the two bramins more than Ibrahim Caun, the captain general ; who led the army against sultan

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Mauzum,

1686. Mauzum, and suffered him to reduce Malquer, the principal barrier of the capital, with much less resistance than might have been made by the strength of the fortress, and the force in the field. This easy success suggested to sultan Mauzum, that Ibrahim Caun might be gained to betray his command more effectually. The experiment succeeded, and many of the best troops came over with him. The command then devolved on Rustum Roy, who soon recruited the army with numbers more than the defection; but of much inferior service; and only kept the field by avoiding battle, until they had retreated to within sight of the capital; when the King, with 12,000 of the best troops, took refuge in the fort of Golcondah, and in such consternation, that it was supposed he would, if pressed in the agony, have surrendered. But sultan Mauzum dreaded to add a crown to his own reputation, which his father had once attempted, and failed to seize. The king to save his diadem offered the humblest submissions, with much gold
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and the most precious diamonds of his mines; to which sultan Mauzum, in complacence to Ibrahim Khan, added the death of the two bramins, and referred the terms to Aurengzebe, who fully employed against Viziapore, permitted him to conclude them. 1686.

In this kingdom repeated desertions had produced the same effect, as the more general defection in Golcondah. The king retired into his capital with a large body of troops selected by his opinion of their fidelity. The city was extensive and capable of some defence, and had a citidel of greater strength. But the king soon began to entertain doubts of his troops, which were probably suggested by the artifices of Aurengzebe, and retired to a neighbouring fort, situated on an inexpugnable rock, and soon after the city, which had stood several assaults, surrendered. This event, according to the best combination we can make, happened in the middle of June. No troops remained in resistance in the field, and the forts vied in submission after the reduction of

1685. the capital; from whence the Mogul's army proceeded to invest the retreat of the king, who seeing no chance of escape, capitulated for the preservation of his life, and the possession of his women and children. He appeared before Aurengzebe in silver chains, and humbled himself to the dust, more with the demeanour of a captive rebel than a vanquished sovereign. It was for some time reported and believed that Aurengzebe had put him to death.

We have no account of Sambagi's operations in the field immediately subsequent to the surprize of Broach in October, 1685. The great force collected by the Mogul in the beginning of 1686, to reduce Viziapore probably deterred him from any efforts to obstruct their operations in this country, but left him freer scope to the northward, between Aurengabad and Surat, of which we suppose that he availed himself, at least by plundering excursions. But whatsoever might have been his successes, the fall of Viziapore convinced sultan Acbar that
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the future efforts of Sambagi in his behalf would be useless, beyond the obtaining of pardon, which he despised, and of promises, which he could not trust; he therefore resumed his former resolution of retiring to Persia, and Sambagi consented to his departure, as the most probable means of producing more efficacious exertions against their common enemy. A ship, commanded by an Englishman, named Bendal, was hired at Rajapore, and sultan Acbar with a slender retinue embarked in her as soon as the monsoon was changed in October. The ship arrived at Muscat in November; from thence sultan Acbar proceeded in another embarkation to Bushire, and was escorted to Ispahan, where the king of Persia received him with all the attentions suitable to his high birth and fallen estate. ✓

The departure of sultan Ecbar removed one half of the importance and anxiety of the war against Sambagi, and made Aurengzebe regret the terms he had granted to the king of Golcondah; which he

1686.

1686.

he determined nevertheless to break ; but wished, without hope, the concurrence of sultan Mauzum, who by his order had ratified the treaty. Assuming therefore the appearance of indifference to his object, he proposed to the deliberation of the council, against which enemy the stress of the war should be directed. Sultan Mauzum proffered, at any forfeit, to accomplish the entire reduction of Sambagi and his country. Sultan Azim, as little in the secret, but always envious of his brother Mauzum, advised that Aurengzebe should conduct this war in person ; but Caun Buxsh, instructed by his mother Udeperri, proposed the immediate conquest of Golcondah. Sultan Mauzum saw from whence this arrow parted, and replied with indignation, that the ambition of the emperor ought not to sacrifice the honour of his son, which had been pledged to the king. It is said that Aurengzebe lost his temper, and concluded his invective with the threat of perpetual imprisonment. Sultan Mogedine, the eldest son of Mauzum,

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thinking all was lost, grasped his scimitar; but his father stopped his arm, saying, "let us not set a pernicious example to posterity." These superior words made Aurengzebe recollect himself, affect complacence, and retain the grudge. 1686.

He spake no more of Golcondah; but gave out that he intended to return to Delhi, and to promote the belief negotiated with Sambagi, who consented to a cessation of hostilities, intending to renew them as soon as he was gone. Even sultan Mauzum was deceived, and prepared to lead the van of the march, of which Aurengzebe permitted him to choose the troops, who were always to be two days a-head of the emperor, with whom sultan Mauzum continued, waiting his ultimate orders, whilst the van was halting at their first stage. Coming as usual to the public audience, Aurengzebe made a sign with his hand that he should wait in one of the adjacent rooms, and soon after directed sultan Mogedine thither likewise, where they were both arrested by the captain of the body guard; and conveyed

1686. conveyed on elephants to different castles; the second son was sent to another: but all the three were treated with indulgences and respect. The two other sons and a daughter, being infants, Aurengzebe took into his own family, and treated them with as much affection as if he had no quarrel with their father.

The intention of returning to Delhi was still held out. The road from Viziapore by Calberga was as near as any other. The city is fortified, and contains the most celebrated mosque in the Decan, with the tomb of a saint of equal veneration. Aurengzebe requested the king of Golcondah's permission to pray at these shrines; and the king, with the utmost refinement of oriental homage, sent him 500,000 gold mohurs to distribute in charity; which produced none to himself; for Aurengzebe, as soon as he had performed his religious devotions, advanced from Calberga with all his banners towards Golcondah, and sent his son sultan Azim to bring supplies of treasure, stores, troops, and artillery, from Delhi and Agra.

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The army of Golcondah, again under the command of Rustum Roy, advanced to succour the defence of the strong holds, which the Mogul's army could not leave behind them untaken. But Aurengzebe committed the conduct of the war to the revolted general Ibrahim Caun, whose former influence in the kingdom operated more efficaciously than his military exertions, and continually produced defections. We find no pitched battles, but skirmishes must have passed before the king and his general shut themselves up again in the fortrefs of Golcondah, which the Mogul's army invested in the month of January. Aurengzebe took the conduct of the siege, and fixed his own quarters in the city of Hyderabad.

1686.

1687.

The lower defences of Golcondah are six miles in circumference; above them is another circuit of much greater resistance, fashioned in some parts out of the native rock. We have little account of the siege; but according to Manouchi, who was there, the Mogul's army was

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obliged

1687.

obliged to raise and carry on a vast mound of earth, sufficient for the display of several batteries, until the assailants and defenders were brought to the brunt of standing fight on the same level. In April the besieged made a sally, by which they got possession of the mound, and maintained it until they had ruined the batteries, with all the artillery, and part of the mound itself. This destruction was not quite repaired before the rains began in June, which gave a farther respite. In August sultan Azim arrived with the supplies he had been sent to bring; when Aurengzebe committed the continuance of the siege to his conduct, and retired to a distant encampment. In the mean time the garrison had received no supplies of provisions, stores, or men, to replace what had been consumed; nor expected any; but still determined to stand the assault at the breach; which sultan Azim avoided by purchasing the treachery of two or three of the principal officers, with whom he concerted an attack on their guard

1687.

guard in the night, when they agreed to abandon the defence, and kept their promise. It was on the twenty-seventh of September. The garrison, although surprised, made resistance; but could not prevent numbers from pouring in sufficient to overwhelm them all, when the slaughter became desperate. The King concealed himself in the meanest office of his palace, from whence he was dragged, unknown, and had well nigh been killed in the mistake. In the morning he was carried to sultan Azim, who suffered him to continue standing several hours in the sun, waiting admittance, but relenting when he saw him, permitted him to sit; and the king, in making his obeisance for the indulgence, presented him with a purse full of diamonds, of which one was second only to that which Emir Jumlah, at his death, had sent to Aurengzebe by the hands of his son. Sultan Azim, still more moved by this present, promised his intercession with his father, to whom he delayed not to send the king; but Aureng-

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168 1687. zebe received him with the most contumelious indignity: it is even asserted that he afterwards inflicted the scourge to extort the discovery of his treasures.

It has lately been said, that Eccogi, the brother of Sevagi, holding a command in Viziapore, came with his troops some time after the reduction of this kingdom, to Gingee; from whence he went with them to the assistance of the Naig of Tanjore, at war with him of Trichinopoly; whom having defeated, Eccogi seized the government he had been called to defend. We formerly placed this revolution in 1680, and altho' we see cause to retract this date, cannot ascertain the real; but discover Eccogi ruling in Tanjore, in the month of August of this year 1687.

As soon as Aurengzebe turned his arms against Golcondah, Sambagi saw the impending danger to his own country of Gingee, and broke the truce he had just concluded with the Mogul, who not suspecting this presumption, had drained the districts, and forts of Viziapore of their adequate defence

defence, in order to increase his strength against Golcondah; which he had scarcely invested, as we have said in January, when Sambagi, from Satarah, Pannala, and Pondah, attacked the western frontiers of Viziapore with uninterrupted success, which continued until the rains in June, when he sent off 12,000 horse to Gingee, under two commanders, the one named Keiffwa Puntulo, the other Santogi Row; but suspecting that Hargi Rajah, who had governed the country ever since the conquest of Sevagi, might sell it and himself to the Mogul, he gave Keiffwa Puntulo a secret instruction to seize on Hargi, and get possession of the fortrefs of Gingee. These troops arrived in the Carnatic in July, where at this season there are no rains, although prevailing in the country to the westward. Their march alarmed Aurengzebe lest they should make conquests in the country of Misore, which he intended to reduce, when free from more important war; and on this supposition he detached an army from the siege of
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1687. of Golcondah, which marching west of the Carnatic mountains invested Bangalore, before the Morattoo generals had concerted their measures for the same attack; who continued debating, and the new ones collecting offerings; but Hargi Rajah, having received intimation of Sambagi's intention against himself, effectually secured Gingee under his own ward and dependance; and Keiffwa Puntulo, disappointed in his scheme, treated him as if he never had had any, with much exterior respect. The three generals agreed to march to the relief of Bangalore; but on the way heard that the place had surrendered to the Mogul's army. This happened in the beginning of August, and at the same time came news that Aurengzebe, on advices of disturbances in the northern parts of the empire, was compromising his dispute with the king of Golcondah, and intended to proceed to Delhi. This intelligence, although false, removed the apprehension of any immediate invasion of the Gingee country; and Hargi Rajah, confident

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fident of the attachment of his troops, lent them to Keisswa Puntulo; and Santogi Row, wishing likewise, for some personal reason, to stay a while in the Carnatic, also gave his division; and Keisswa Puntulo, with the whole, amounting to 18,000 horse, passed into the Mifore country.

The strength of Golcondah, and the despairing resolution of the king, had raised expectations of a much longer defence, for treachery had not been suspected; so that the fall spread the astonishment of sudden ruin; and most of the officers in those countries which had not already submitted, pressed forward to make terms for themselves; and Aurengzebe, to comfort them with hopes of indulgence, appointed their old acquaintance Ibrahim Caun, to act as his vicegerent in all affairs of the kingdom.

Six thousand horse were sent under the command of Ooffer Cawn to take in the maritime provinces from Masulipatam to Ganjam. Masulipatam made

1687. no resistance, having been lately ravaged by a grievous pestilence, and left by the governor, who had retired with his treasures, and the detestation of his people; but much remained to do, before the countries beyond the Godaveri could be reduced to regular obedience. That portion of the Carnatic which belonged to Golcondah was under the government of a nabob, who kept his court at Cudapah; his name was Ally Ascar Cawn; he had always borne good will to the English at Madras, and was the first to inform them that he was continued in his station by the Mogul. Advices of the same purport came from the neighbouring governors of Congeveram and Punamalee, who were both gentoos. He of Punamalee said, that as the world turned round like a wheel, he had beaten his drums, and fired his guns, for the victory which the mighty Allumgire had gained over his old master. So that nothing appeared to contest the Mogul's authority in this extensive space of country, which
three

three weeks before acknowledged another king. But this tranquility was of short duration. 1687.

The Mogul's troops having taken Bangalore were reinforced before Keisswa Puntulo arrived in Misore, and marched against him, who nevertheless maintained himself on the other side of the mountains until November, when he returned into the Carnatic, and arrived about the 10th at Trinomoly. We are ignorant whether defeat or his own choice occasioned this retreat; but are not inclined to impute it to necessity; for such a body of Morattoo horse might, with their facility of avoiding encounter, have continued long in such a country as Misore, unless impaired by some signal overthrow, of which we find no mention.

On his return the grudge between him and Hargi Rajah, broke out openly; the surrender of Gingee to the orders of Sambagi was publicly demanded and refused; but Hargi fearing that respect to his sovereign might at length predominate amongst the troops of his own command,

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secured

1687. secured the fort of Thevenapatam, near Cudalore, as a retreat on emergency: but to keep up their attachment to himself by an exertion of national loyalty, and the hope of plunder, he summoned Keiffwa Puntolo to march and reduce the countries to the north of the Paliar, which had just submitted to the Mogul. Keiffwa Puntolo seems to have refused any connexion with him; on which Hargi sent forward a detachment under the command of two officers, in whom he had special trust, who met with no resistance of any consequence from the new converts to the Mogul government, and in a fortnight were in quiet possession of Arcot, Conjeveram, and Punamalee, with their districts, of which they sat about collecting the revenues, favoured by the season, for it was the end of December.

In the mean time Sambagi, insufficiently opposed in Viziapore, had reduced all the country extending south of Pannala, amongst the mountains which advance beyond the gauts to the westward; where, the record says, he had taken 120 places
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of note by the end of the year. He not only aggravated his war against the Moguls with every species of barbarity, but even poisoned the fair tank of water near which they might be tempted to encamp. Policy alone left no doubt of the preference between the conquest of the original and sovereign power, and the reduction of its dependency in the Carnatic; but indignation likewise prompted this resolution; and Aurengzebe, who rarely discovered his emotions when extreme, swore that he would never return to Delhi until he had seen the head of Sambagi weltering at his feet.

Accordingly, in the beginning of January, 1688, he issued orders for the march of his army and Omrah's to Vizapore; but not willing to trust Ibrahim Caun during his absence with the government of the kingdom he had betrayed, sent him, but honourably, to govern the province of Lahore; and appointed his ancient servant Rohilla Caun to Golcondah. Aurengzebe led the

1688.

two captive kings in his train, and received their daily obeisance at the hour of his public appearance, as if delighted with the contemplation of their mutual anguish, and his own pre-eminence, and determined that each should see the vanquished capital of the other, gazing on the fallen majesty of both.

For two months before his departure he had several times issued and revoked orders for the march of a large detachment to Cudapah, from whence they were to proceed with the troops of that government to attack the Gingee country, where the reports of their approach had kept Keisswa Puntulo, and Santogi Row making preparations of defence: but, finding that no troops crossed the Kristna, although Hargi Rajah's detachment had taken possession of the country to the north of the Paliar, they moved likewise; and, after little resistance, took Chittapet and Covrepauk; and, about the middle of January, established a general and superior standard at Conjeveram, which

which Hargi's detachment, if they did not obey, did not oppose; and both agreed in getting all they could by the plunder of the open country, to which, besides the propensity of usage, they were prompted by the certainty that the army they had so long expected was in actual march from Golcondah into the Carnatic.

This army was commanded by an officer named Mahomed Sadich. It consisted of 12,000 Mogul horse, but a greater number of foot, which were of little efficacy, as being the ordinary troops of tributary Rajahs and Polygars. They arrived in the middle of February, and were the first army in the service of the Moguls, which ever entered the Carnatic.

The Morattoes left Conjeveram on their approach, and retired to their nearest forts on each side of the Paliar. The Mogul general made it his first care to put strong garrisons into Punamalee and Vandivash, which the Morattoes had not had time to reduce, and soon after encamped under

1688. under Vandivash with the main body of his army ; but kept detachments abroad with the ostensible purpose of opposing the depredations of the Morattoes : instead of which these detachments rarely refrained from committing the same excesses themselves. Multitudes were continually flocking to the protection of Madras, of which the Mogul's and the Morattoe generals complained, and demanded the surrender of such as carried away any thing of value ; not without accusing the English government of partiality : and offence to either side was dangerous ; for the Mogul's troops were often at the gates of Madras, whose factories of Cuddalore and Conimere, in the Gingee country, were exposed to the insults of Morattoe detachments, and the company's investment, widely diffused, to the plunder of both.

The Morattoe generals, to oppose the Mogul encampment at Vandivash, kept the main of their army at Chittapet, within a day's march ; but neither did more than observe

observe the other ; for, excepting a few accidental skirmishes between plundering parties, the year passed without any enterprize of hostility ; but the country was desolated.

Aurengzebe continued throughout this year in the city of Viziapore, superintending with the utmost attention the war against Sambagi. The numbers and artillery of the Mogul's army recovered all the towns and forts in the opener country, which Sambagi had reduced whilst they were employed against Golcondah ; but his holds on hills and mountains were inexpugnable ; and all that could be done against them was to station troops in such of the neighbouring situations as might best represent the garrisons above from descending to plunder in the plain, who from their back country and the gauts were supplied when necessary, by secreted parties, with provisions. Even Pannala, which Sambagi made his own retreat and capital during this war, was continually invested, but with no prospect of surrender at the end of the year.

1689. year, when Aurengzebe convinced of the improbability of getting Sambagi into his power by dint of open hostility, resorted to other means.

That propensity to women which the wisdom of his father Sevagi seems to have early foreseen as the germ of Sambagi's destruction, had increased with his manhood and power. It wasted not his time in the allurements of dalliance, but his variety was insatiable, and every beauty he heard of became the object of his acquisition, in despite of all parental and religious resentment. Cablis Caun, as mentioned before, was the procurer of his pleasures, and from this connexion gained some share of his confidence in the affairs of his government, without any political ability, and a considerable command in the army, with very little courage. He seems by his name and manners to have been a Mahomedan. Aurengzebe tried, and found no difficulty in tampering and succeeding with such a character, but was obliged to leave the mode to his own judgment, who consulting

sulting, above all other considerations, his own security, risked no attempt on Sambagi's life by poison or assassination, but waited for some less dangerous means of treachery, which occurred in the month of June. 1689.

It is well known that the marriages of the Hindoos are contracted by the parents during the earliest infancy of the children, who from that time are kept separate in their own families, until the virgin wife arrives at the real age of nubility, when she is sent home with much pomp to the house of her husband. This procession is generally made in the night, accompanied by many lights, and is held sacred from all interruption. A young Hindoo of distinction, and much beauty, was to be carried to her husband, and the representation of Cablis Caun; who pretended to have seen her, easily persuaded Sambagi to seize her. He put himself at the head of a small squadron of horse; but for fear of accidents in this time of hostility, Cablis Caun was to follow at a distance with a much larger body. We are ignorant

1689. ignorant from which of his strong holds this intemperate excursion was made; but believe from Pannelu, of which the investment might have been raised by the advice of Cablis Caun. The onset of Sambagi had scarcely dispersed the procession, when his party was attacked by a detachment of Mogul cavalry, who, apprized of his person, refrained from his life, and seized him at the unresisted risque of his sword. They then proceeded against the body with Cablis Caun; who pretended resistance only to be taken.

Sambagi appeared before Aurengzebe with undaunted brow; who reproached Cablis Caun, not with his treachery, but the encouragement which his prostituted ministry had given to vices which at length had led his sovereign to ruin; and ordered him to instant death. To Sambagi he proffered life and rank in his service, if he would turn Mahomedan, who answered by an invective against the prophet, and the laud of his own gods. On which he was dressed in the fantastic ornaments of a wandering Indian devotee, who beg in villages with a rattle
and

and a cap with bells. *In this garb he was tied, looking backwards, upon a camel, and led thro' the camp, calling on all the Rajpoots he saw to kill him, but none dared. After the procession his tongue was cut out, as the penalty of blaspheming Mahomed. In this forlorn condition Aurengzebe, by a message, again offered to preserve his life if he would be converted, when he wrote, "Not if you " would give me your daughter in marriage;" on which his execution was ordered, and performed by cutting out his heart, after which his limbs and body were separated, and all together were thrown to dogs prepared to devour them. Manouchi says, that Aurengzebe beheld and enjoyed the spectacle, which is scarcely credible. Nevertheless, human nature wonders at his inflexible cruelty, as much as it admires the invincible courage of Sambagi; whose death produced not the expected effect of submission from any part of the Morattoe government, which it only animated the more to continue the

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1689. the war. But our narrative must now resume, as well as it can, the English concerns in the empire from the end of 1685.

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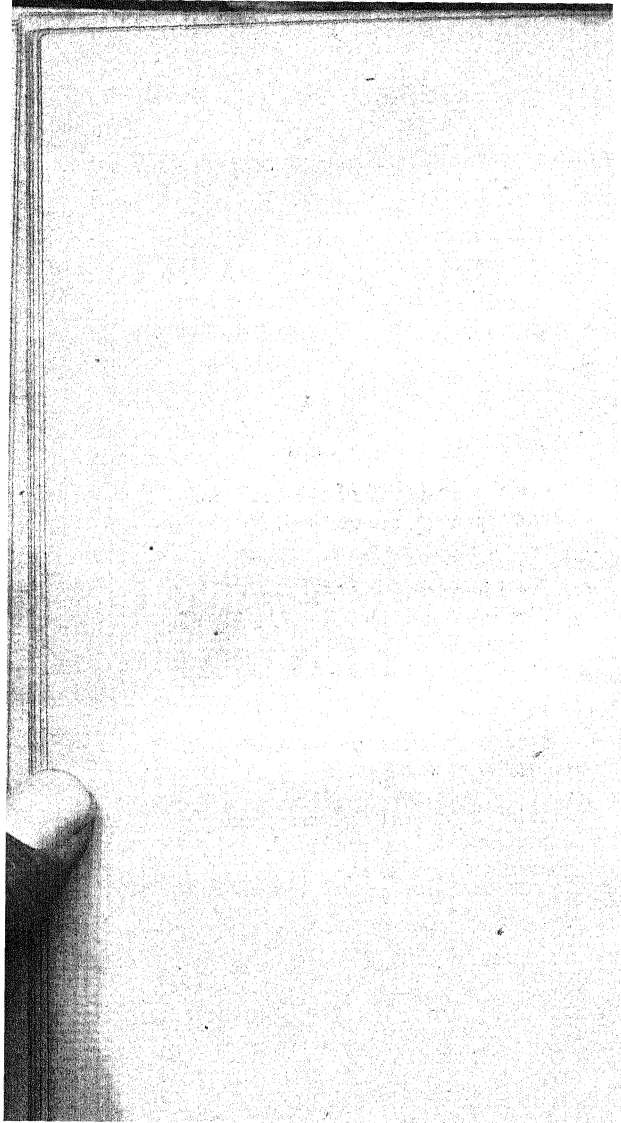
E R R A T A

In the FRAGMENTS, SECT. I.

Such as can leave no doubt of the real reading or spelling, are omitted.

Page. line.

- 5. 14. *For Morattoe, read Morattoes.*
- 35. 3. *For south of Gheriah, read north of Gheriah.*
- 41. 7. *For San Thomi, read San Thomé.*
- 44. 4. *For Mazagen, read Mazagong.*
- 57. 11. *For Damacen, read Damaun.*
- 115. 12. *For Dunda Rajapore, read Gingerah.*
- 120. 9. *For sta. read stations.*
- 147. 6. *For empire, read umpire.*
- 12. *Insert the before Rajpoots.*
- 148. 14. *For resented, read presented.*
- 149. 14. *For meat, read meal.*



N O T E S
TO THE
HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS
OF THE
MOGUL EMPIRE,
OF THE
MORATTOES,
AND OF THE
ENGLISH CONCERNS IN INDOSTAN.
SECTION I.

N O T E I.

PAGE 3, line 2. FRAGMENTS, *which the*
want of more materials disables us from
disposing into a more regular form.] We
B are

are not without hopes that some of the many in India, who have the means, will supply the portions of information, which are deficient in these fragments, and must otherwise always continue out of our reach. The knowledge is well worth the enquiry; for, besides the magnitude of the events, and the energy of the characters, which arise within this period, there are no states or powers on the continent of India, with whom our nation have either connexion, or concern, who do not owe the origin of their present condition to the reign of Aurengzebe, or to its influence on the reigns of his successors.

N O T E II:

Page 3, line 9. *The enquiries of Europeans have not hitherto procured any history of Aurengzebe, written by a native of Indostan, which extends beyond the 13th year of his reign, answering to 1671 of our æra.*] The following accounts relating to the reign of Aurengzebe have been brought to Europe,

Europe, and we have acquired no information of any others. We give the titles as published by those who procured the the manuscripts.

I. "ALUMGUIRNAMA, by *Munshi Mahomed Kazm ben Mahomed Amin Munshi*, containing the history of India and Aurengzebe, from Sultan Dara Sheckowh's first confining his father Shah Jehan, until the 13th year of Aurengzebe's reign, wherein is a full account of the means he used to cut off his brothers, and secure the empire to himself."—This book belonged to Mr. Frazer, and, with the whole collection he brought from India, is in the Radcliffe Library: but there is a mistake in the title, although given by Mr. Frazer himself; for the history does not extend beyond the 10th year of Aurengzebe's reign.

II. "KELMAT TYBAT, all the remarkable sayings (or *bon mots*) of the great Mogul Aurengzebe, with copies of all the letters, notes, &c. he wrote himself." This book likewise belonged to Mr. Frazer, and is in the Radcliffe Library. The

letters and notes have no dates either of time or place.

The four following manuscripts, III. IV. V. VI. belonged to Mr. Dow.

III. "MIRAT UL WARIDAT, or the
"Mirror of Occurrences, written by Ma-
"hommed Shuffia of Delhi. He under-
"took the work at the request of Byram
"Chan, in the reign of Mahommed
"Shaw. He professes the book to be a
"continuation of the work of Feritsha,
"and it contains a compendious history
"of the Mogul empire, from the death
"of Acbar to the invasion of Nadir
"Shaw." The whole life of Aurengzebe must therefore be in this history, since it comes down to the reign of his great grandson; but we suppose very succinctly, since Mr. Dow himself has not continued the life of Aurengzebe beyond the year 1669, the 11th of his reign.

IV. "ROSE NAMMA, or a Journal of
"the first ten years of Aurengzebe, by
"by *Mirza Cassim*, the son of *Mirza*
"*Amin*, private secretary to Aurengzebe;
"our author (*Mirza Cassim*) succeeded
"his father in that office."

V. "ALLUM-

V. "ALLUMGIRE NAMMA; or the history of Allumgire or Aurengzebe, by the same. This work is little more than an abridgment of the above." It is then the same as the ALUMGUIRNAMA of Mr. Frazer, N^o. I. who calls Mirza Casim, Mahommed Kazm.

VI. "MIRAT ALLUM, or the Mirror of the world; by Nazir Buchtar Chan, a man of letters, who led a private life near Feridabad, within a few miles of Agra. This work contains the history of the first ten years of Aurengzebe."

VII. "NOBAVAH MOUNIR;" or Splendid Intelligence; "being letters of Aurengzebe to his vizirs, governors of provinces, &c." This manuscript in 12^o. was brought by Mr. Anquetil du Perron from India, and deposited by him in the King's library at Paris. We are ignorant what lights it might afford to the history of Aurengzebe.

N O T E III.

Page 3, line 14. Mr. FRAZER—*says, that he (Aurengzebe) forbade his life to be written.*] Mr. Frazer does not say this in his Nadir Shah,

Shah; but it is mentioned in a note by the authors of the Universal History, with whom it is probable that Mr. Frazer was acquainted.

N O T E IV.

Page 3, line 16. CATROU.]—The Jesuit, known by other works, wrote the History of the Mogul Emperors, from the memoirs of MANOUCHI, who had been physician to Sultan Mauzum. We find Manouchi at Madras in the year 1691; but Catrou says, that the memoirs which he received from him came down to the year 1700. Mr. Anquetil du Perron, in his Legislation Orientale, published at Paris 1778, says, that he saw the manuscript of Manouchi in the year 1763, in the library of the Jesuits of the MAISON PROFESSE. We are informed that this manuscript was not inserted in the catalogue of the sale, when the effects of the Jesuits were confiscated in 1773; nor had it been reserved for the king's library. It is supposed to have been carried into Holland, and is well worth recovering.

The 3d and 4th volumes of Catrou's history, comprize a general view of the whole reign of Aurengzebe, and the only one within the reach of those who are not versant in the Persian; not that we know that any such exists even in this language. The style of Catrou is esteemed elegant; he gives several striking narrations, but seems to have despised much attention to chronological arrangement, and some of the few dates he gives are erroneous. We have taken largely from this work.

N O T E V.

Page 3. line 21. "*Is a shameless apology for the deposal, &c. &c.*" The condition of the writer, composing under the terror of Aurengzebe's inspection and displeasure, accounts for this panegyric. Mr. T. C. Boughton Rous, with that respect to letters, which always distinguisheth those who are capable of cultivating them with success, has on all occasions supplied us with the informations which his knowledge could furnish to our ignorance of the Persian language: he read in this view 200 pages of the ALUMGUIR-NAMA,

NAMA, and gave us the character we have given of this work, which is very voluminous.

NOTE VI.

Page 4, line 25. SEVAGI *was the founder of the Morattoe nation.*] The relations of all the travellers, who were on the western side of India during his life, after it became an object of fame, speak more or less of his exploits. We shall enumerate the accounts we have consulted.

I. TAVERNIER, was in India, at various intervals, from 1642 to 1666: he journeyed through most of the provinces of the empire, and in more directions than any other traveller. He tells, although very succinctly, the origin of SEVAGI's fortune, and mentions him transiently on another occasion.

II. BERNIER, well known, he arrived at Surat in 1655, and left India, at the latest, in 1667. He speaks of SEVAGI as an adventurous Chieftain, emerging into notice.

III. THEVENOT, not Melchizedec, but his nephew, who, as well as he, had received

ceived a liberal education. He travelled to acquire knowledge, and after visiting Constantinople, went into Egypt and Syria. In this voyage he employed four years, from May 1655 to April 1659. After his return to France, he devoted four years more to such studies as might improve his discernment, and then set out for Persia and India. He arrived at Surat, from Bussorah, on the 6th of November 1665, and immediately went to Ahmedabad and Cambay. He then travelled across the peninsula, from Surat to Masulipatnam, by Aurengabad and Golcondah: returned by Golcondah, Bider, Patri, and Bram-pore; and embarked from Surat for Persia, in February 1667: so that the whole of his continuance in India did not exceed fifteen months. He died on the 6th November of the same year, at the town of Miana, in Persia, to the great loss of cosmographical knowledge; since the posthumous publication of his journal and observations in India are deprived of many additions and explanations, which he had entrusted to his memory. Nevertheless, no relation of this country contains so

much and such valuable intelligence, acquired in so short a time, or comprized in less extent of writing. We imagine, that he was assisted by the Capuchins of Surat, who have always been attentive to the affairs of the empire, for the sake of their religion; and the scribe whom Thevenot hired was conversant with good authorities. He treats of SEVAGI to the year 1664, with better information, according to our judgment, than any of the other travellers: and every other mention which he accidentally makes of him, affords some light to be relied on, and worthy of attention.

IV. CARRE accompanied the French director-general Carron, and arrived at Surat in 1668, from whence he was dispatched with the letters of Mr. Carron to the minister Colbert, in February 1671. He passed through Arabia, and arrived in France in the October following. He was dispatched back to Surat in 1672, and from hence was sent by Mr. Carron, with advices to Monsieur de la Haye, besieged in San Thomé; but, from the superiority of the Dutch in these seas, proceeded across the continent, going first to Daman, and then

to Chaul; from whence to Upper Chaul, where he was treated with much civility by SEVAGI's officer, and received his pass, which carried him, without hinderance, to the city of Viziapore, where we find him in January 1673. Here he fell ill, and says nothing more of his journey; but it appears from the journal of Monsieur De la Haye, that he arrived at San Thomé, on the 26th of April.

Carré published two small volumes of what he heard and saw in his travels, with very careless arrangement, little attention to dates, and many stories, of which the only one of any importance is a history of SEVAGI, divided into two portions, one in each volume. All he says in the first, which relates only to the outset of Sevagi's fortune, is either erroneous, or too confused to be reduced to order: but the second part affords better information, although only concerning his operations in the years 1671 and 1672. He admires SEVAGI's character with enthusiasm; compares him to Gustavus Adolphus and Julius Cæsar, and ascribes to him all the qualities of a consummate hero and sovereign.

V. DELLON, the physician, sailed from France in March 1668, and after some employment at the settlements on Madagascar and Bourbon, arrived at Surat in September 1669, from whence he sailed, in the beginning of 1670, with the orders to remove the French factory at Beliapatam to Tellicherry, where they established a house in the month of June. This was several years before the English settled there. In the way the ship stopped at Rajapore and Mirzeou, where the French company had likewise factories. From Tellicherry Dellon was occasionally employed in their concerns of trade at Callicut, Tanore, and Chaly, and incidentally saw Bergerah and Cognally, which lie between Callicut and Tellicherry. In the month of June 1671, Flacour, the French agent, went from hence to settle a trade at Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore. Dellon, intending to accompany him, went as far as the foot of the mountains, but was deterred there by the excessive violence of the torrents, and came back: Flacour persisted, and returned from Seringapatam in November. In January 1672, Dellon failed

failed from Tellicherry on his return to Surat: the ships stopped at Mangalore, at Mirzeou from whence they withdrew the factory, at Goa, Atchara, and Rajapore, and arrived at Surat in the middle of March. From hence he sailed in November in a ship of force, sent to convoy home another of value from Gombroon. The two were met in their return, off Diu, by four which were cruizing for them, and all together put into Bombay in January 1673, from whence they arrived at Surat in the beginning of February. In March, Dellon travelled by land to Daman, where he remained exercising his profession until the end of the year. On the 1st of January 1674, he sailed from Daman, and having touched at Bassein, arrived at Goa on the 14th. In this city he continued two years, and sailed for Lisbon and France in January 1676.

Dellon directed his observations principally to the manners and customs of the people he saw, and to the nature of the country; he, however, gives some account of their princes, and mentions SEVAGI oftener than any other, with whom the interests

terests of his voyage had so little concern : but says nothing of him where he must have heard much, during his residence at Goa. His voyage is curious and esteemed.

VI. DE GRAAF, the surgeon, made six voyages to the East Indies, in the service of the Dutch company ; his first outset from Holland was in the year 1640, his last return in 1687 ; a period of remarkable length in such wearisome employment. In each voyage he was detained several years abroad, and sent to different parts, where the Dutch had concerns or settlements, and seems to have been at them all. He gives much and various information. The first mention he makes of SEVAGI is where it might be least expected, when he was travelling in Bengal ; but what he says of him there, has assisted our narrative : when nearer the operations of SEVAGI, he mentions him only once.

VII. *JOURNAL du voyage des grands Indes, contenant tout ce qui s'y est fait et passé par l'escadre de sa majesté, envoyée sous le commandement de MONS^r. DE LA HAYE, depuis son départ de la Rochelle au mois de Mars 1670.* Monsieur de la Haye was detained by attentions

tions at Madagascar, and the isles of Bourbon and Mauritius, where the French had settlements, and did not arrive at Surat until October 1671. After much trouble and opposition from the Dutch fleet, in his attempt to form an establishment in the bay of Trincomalé, he sailed to the coast of Coromandel, and took San Thomé by assault, on the 25th of July 1672. The place, at this time, belonged to the king of Golcondah, against whose forces, finally assisted by the Dutch, Mr. De la Haye defended it with the utmost gallantry for more than two years, until the 5th of September 1674. SEVAGI, as we shall see, profited of this diversion of the forces of Golcondah.

VIII. *RELATION ou journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes Orientales, &c.* Paris, 1677, 12°. in the Saint John Baptist, which arrived at Surat on the 26th October 1671, and sailed in January 1672, with Mr. De la Haye's squadron to Trincomalé, where the writer was taken by the Dutch in May, and carried to Bengal, and the prisons of Batavia. He speaks of SEVAGI, but with little intelligence; calling him a
relation

relation of the Great Mogul : and we only mention this journal, to prevent the expectation of any thing material in it.

IX. FRYER, the physician, sailed from England on the 9th of December 1672, arrived on the coast of Coromandel in June, and from hence at Bombay in December 1673. In September 1674, he went to Surat, and returned to Bombay in April 1675: in May he travelled to Jenneah Ghur, and after the rains in October, sailed from Bombay for Carwar, and went from hence to Goa in December. In the beginning of 1676, he went to Vingurlah, then to Gocurn, in the Carnatic country; and having passed the rains of this year at Carwar, went again to Goa in October, and from hence arrived in December at Surat. In February 1677, he sailed from Surat for Gombroon, and continued in Persia until the 30th of November 1678, when he embarked on his return, and arrived at Surat on the 6th of January 1679; where he seems to have continued until he sailed for England in January 1681.

The English concerns from Surat to Carwar were often affected by the operations

of SEVAGI, whilst Fryer continued in India; who accordingly learnt much concerning him, but wanted leisure to digest his informations into a regular narrative, which it is impossible now to do; since his mentions of SEVAGI, although very frequent, are generally interwoven with other subjects, and without dates. Nevertheless, our attention to what Fryer says of him, first led us to discover that SEVAGI was the founder of the present nation of MORATTOES, for at that time we had not seen Catrou, nor consulted the UNIVERSAL HISTORY: and divisions as well as misfortunes in the lineage seem to have confounded this knowledge, even in the apprehension of the Europeans residing in India, ever since the beginning of the present century: nor do the cotemporary travellers or records ever call the people or armies which SEVAGI governed or commanded, MORATTOES; they are always called *Sevagees* as a people, or the troops of SEVAGI.

X. HISTOIRE de SEVAGI, et de son successeur, Nouveaux Conquerans dans l'Inde, by Pere D'Orleans, Jesuit, added to his *Histoire de deux Conquerans Tartares qui ont subjugué, la*

Chine. Paris, 1688. 8°. This account, which is very short, is composed from one written at Goa. It does not give a single date, and only a few facts without precision, and better known before. What he says of Sambagi was at the time less known, but is very imperfect.

MANOUCHI, sufficiently mentioned before under CATROU, Note III. MANOUCHI accompanied sultan Mauzum in all his campaigns against SEVAGI, concerning whom he has furnished CATROU with more information than is to be found in any other writer.

These are all the accounts cotemporary with the life of SEVAGI, which have come to our knowledge; and he is mentioned in them all. We have examined two others which are of modern date.

XI. "HISTORY of INDOSTAN, from the death of AKBAR to the complete settlement of the Empire under AURENGZEBE. To which are prefixed, &c. By ALEXANDER Dow, Esq; Lieutenant Colonel in the Company's service. London 1772." in quarto. This work is intended as a continuation of Feritsha's history, of which Mr. Dow had before published a translation. Mr. Dow gives

gives the following account of the means and materials which enabled him to compose this continuation. "THOUGH the
" author of this volume derives by far the
" greatest part of his facts from Eastern
" writers, he has not overlooked the interrupted glimpses of the transactions in
" the Mogul empire, preserved by intelligent Europeans, who travelled the last
" century into India. He relies upon their
" authority with regard to what they had
" *seen*. He prefers the accounts of domestic writers to what they only *heard*. He
" draws his informations chiefly from the
" following authors ; and the originals are
" at this moment in his hands." They are enumerated, and are six histories in the Persian language. The Persian historians in general, as Mahomedans, are not very curious or exact in their accounts of the Hindoos or Europeans. Accordingly, the first mention which Mr. Dow makes of SEVAGI, is in the year 1661, when he styles him Sewâji, prince of Cokin, or Concan ; and this part of his story continues to the year 1663. It is resumed in 1665, and 1666 ; again in 1667 ; after which nothing more

is said of him, although SEVAGI had much concern in an event, which Mr. Dow places in the year 1668, who does not continue the reign of Aurengzebe beyond the year 1669.

XII. “ *A short historical Narrative of the rise and rapid advancement of the MARATTAH STATE, to the present strength, and consequence it has acquired in the East. Written originally in Persian, and translated into English by an Officer in the East India Company’s service. London, 1782.*”

OCTAVO. The author is Mr. Alexander Kerr, who studying the Persian language, translated for his improvement this tract, composed under his own inspection from Persian manuscripts, by the scribe whom he employed to teach him. The intention was meritorious, and will probably induce Mr. Kerr to make farther enquiries when he returns to India. Mr. Kerr says, the Persian manuscripts “ are the only historical guide to this subject, since the MAHRATTAHS themselves (as far as I have been able to find out) have no such of their own.” “ Oral tradition, and the best received accounts of the more recent

“ recent times, supplied the rest.” Mr. Kerr’s account traces an independant MAHRATTAN principality, existing in the Decan as far back as two hundred years from the present time. We had compiled all we now say of SEVAGI, and after him, of the Morattoes, until the year 1689, before Mr. Kerr’s work was published ; and have changed nothing in consequence, but rest on our own enquiries.

Besides the publications we have enumerated, we have gained information concerning SEVAGI, and of events to a later period concerning the early times of the Morattoes, from cotemporary records belonging to the East India Company. The earliest which mentions SEVAGI is of the year 1673. Could we have discovered the whole series with the collateral branches of correspondence, from the year 1650, the FRAGMENTS we now publish would have acquired some authentic additions ; but the labour would have exceeded the conception of any of our readers, excepting the keeper of the records at the India-house.

NOTE VII.

Page 5, line 14. *He (SEVAGI) drew his lineage from the Rajahs of Chitore, who boast their descent from Porus, and are esteemed the most ancient establishment of Hindoo princes, and the noblest of the Rajpoot tribes.*] This descent from Porus is mentioned by Sir Thomas Roe, Bernier, Thevenot ; but the AIJIN ACBARRI, which is a general description of the empire, compiled by the order of Acbar, under the inspection of his learned general Abdul Fazel, makes the Rajahs of Chitore descend from Nouschirvan, the king of Persia ; the same as Cosroes, who warred so long with Justinian, and after a reign of forty-eight years, died in 570. A very strange genealogy of a Hindoo and Rajpoot Rajah ; for Cosroes was of the religion of Zoroaster, or the worshippers of fire ; who, although confined to many abstinences, were not restrained from eating beef.

N O T E V I I I .

Page 6, line 21. *Stabbed him with his own hand, by a device, which, if practicable, could not be suspected.*] Thus described by Catrou: “ Il fit attacher un bistouri des
“ mieux aguisez à une bague qu’il portoit
“ au doigt. Le bistouri tournoit aisé-
“ ment autour de la bague, et pour lors il
“ étoit caché dans l’ombre de sa main.”

N O T E I X .

Page 7, line 22. *Pannela was one of the strongest fortresses in the Concan, towards the capital of Viziapore.*] This place is as often spelt Parnela. Mr. D’Anville, in whom Europe has lately lost the first geographer of the world, has a *Parnel*, 20 miles to the north-west of Ahmednagar; but this situation does not agree with the molestations to which Viziapore was exposed from our Pannela; because Ahmednagar, a capital city, and a frontier place of arms belonging to the Mogul, lay between. And this

reason excludes the Parnir, which arises in our map of the Decan, and is still farther distant in the same direction. At length we discovered a better approximation, in a manuscript account of the Decan procured for the assistance of our labours, with several other valuable documents, by our ancient and very intelligent friend, General Richard Smith, whilst commanding the army in Bengal. The manuscript seems to have been composed from the archives of the Decan, at some time between the years 1750 and 1758. It divides the Decan into six *subahs* or provinces; the *subahs* into their *circars*, or governments; the *circars* into their *purgunnahs*, or districts. Places of note are occasionally described, and some with particular circumstances. The revenues, as rated in the king's books, are mentioned, excepting in the *circars* under the SUBAH of VIZIAPORE. One of the *circars* of this *subah* is thus described :

“ CIRCAR OF NABICHADOUROUK.

“ It is likewise called PARNALA. It

“ contains nine *purgunnahs*.

“ The

“ The adjacencies or *environs* of *Parnala*, *Darkehay*, *Sarala*, *Mapatan*, *Azam-
tara*, *Mandal*, *Tchitpet*, *Koundelgora*,
“ *Matora*.

“ These purgunnahs have (villages, the
“ number not mentioned) which give
“ (rupees, the sum not mentioned.)

“ To the east of this circar, the purgun-
“ nahs of *Raibaug*, and the circar of
“ *Merdsje*; to the north, the fortrefs of
“ *Djoumer*; to the east, the defiles of
“ *Concan*, and the circar of *Moustaphabad*
“ (which is *Dabul*) and a part of the cir-
“ car of *Azamnagur*.

“ The *Kristna* enters this circar from
“ the defile of the mountains, with the
“ river of *Malvanar*, which it joins, and
“ afterwards goes into the purgunnahs of
“ *Satara*; to the east of which are springs,
“ which flow into the *Pourna*; which ri-
“ ver goes to the south, and afterwards
“ joins the *Kristna*.”

It is evident from this account, that
PARNALA is the capital of the circar of
NABICHADOUROUK. *Raibaug* and *Merdsje*
are cities which Mr. D’Anville has ad-
justed in the road from *Viziapora* to *Dabal*

on the sea; which standing northward of Satara, placeth the circar of *Parnala* on the eastern side of the gauts behind Dabul, from which it extends north-west and south-east towards *Merdsje* and *Raibaug*. Although this does not ascertain, no other account that we have seen, suggests the least guess whereabouts the fortrefs of *Parnala* is situated.

N O T E X.

Page 12, line 23. CHAEST KHAN, *the subah of the conquered territories in the Decan, and uncle to the emperor by marriage.*] CHAEST CAWN, is perhaps more properly called *Shaista Cawn*, by Mr. Dow, from whom we shall endeavour to trace his family.

Aiafs, a Tartar, had relations in the court of Acbar, and having nothing of his own, but his abilities, travelled in quest of fortune to Delhi, accompanied only by his wife, who was delivered in the desert of a daughter, which, for want of means to carry her on, he exposed; but relenting at the agonies of the mother, returned just
in

in time to rescue the infant from the jaws of a serpent. Their wants were soon after relieved by other travellers.

The talents of Aiafs raised him, through a succession of employments, in the reign of Acbar, to the office of treasurer of the empire, with the title of Actimád ul Dowlah. In the mean time his daughter of the desert became the first of women, in beauty, accomplishments, and allurements. Selim, who succeeded his father Acbar, with the name of Jehangire, saw her, and was captivated; but she was already betrothed, and Acbar, from religious justice, would not suffer the bonds to be broken. She was accordingly married to Shaw Afkun, whom Jehangire, when in possession of the throne, procured, after several attempts, to be murdered; when his wife, Mher ul Nissa, was sent to the emperor's seraglio, which had been the object of her ambition ever since she first unveiled herself to his sight. But according to the story, she continued long there in disappointment; for Jehangire, it is said, refrained from seeing her for four years, during which he had struggled with his passion to no pur-

pose: for the first interview vanquished all his resolution, and the very next day he issued orders for the celebration of their nuptials; when her name of Mher ul Niffa, or the sun of women, was changed to Noor Mahil, the light of the seraglio; and afterwards to Noor Jehan, or light of the world. Her power over Jehangire was absolute to the end of his life. For a while she held the government of Guzerat, with the title of subah, during which rupees were struck at Ahmedabad with this inscription: "In the 13th of the installation, 1028 of the Hegira, Nour Jehan, wife of the king Jehangire, son of the king Acbar, being governess of Ahmedabad." It was likewise during this government, as we believe, that she struck gold rupees, or mohurs, with this not inelegant legend. "By order of the king Jehangire. Gold has acquired a hundred degrees of excellence, in receiving the name of Noor Jehan *."

A. C. 1618.

* The mention of these two coinages is taken from Mr. Anquetil du Perron, vol. i. part i. pages cclxvii, and dxiv.

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Her family partook of her fortune. Jehangire, on his marriage, created her father Actimâd ul Dowlah, vizir of the empire; and raised his two sons, Acticâd Chan, and Afiph Jah, to high honours. Of the first we find nothing; but Afiph Jah, on the death of his father in 1618, succeeded to the office of vizir; and Jehangire permitted his own son, sultan Currom, who succeeded to the throne with the name of Shah Jehan, to marry his daughter, Mumlaza Zemani, which signifies the most exalted of the age; besides whom Afiph Jah had four sons: *Chagst Khan* (the occasion of this note) who before was called Mirza Morad; Mirza Misti, who was drowned in a drunken frolic in the river Behat, in Cashmire; Mirza Hossein, of moderate abilities, and little note; Shânâvâschan, who rose to much reputation and distinction.

Thus *Chagst Khan* was the nephew of the empress Noor Jehan, and by the marriage of his own sister with Shaw Jehan, became the maternal uncle of AURENG-ZEBE, and of his brothers Darah, Sujah, and

and Morad. He moreover acquired the relation of uncle by alliance to Aurengzebe and Morad, by their marriage with his nieces, the daughters of his brother Shânâvaz Chan. No private family ever made such alliances with royal blood, as this of the Tartar Aiafs, afterwards Actimâd ul Dowlah; for his own daughter, his son's, and the daughter of his grandson, were married to three successive emperors of Indostan; and another daughter of his grandson, to Morad, who disputed, and for some days thought himself in possession of the throne. The emperor Shah Jehan respected the virtues of the daughter of Afiph Jah, as much as his father Jehangire had been infatuated by the charms of the daughter of Actimad ul Dowlah, and raised a sepulchre at Agra to the memory of Mumlaza Zemani, which is said to have cost the enormous sum of 750,000 pounds*.

In 1638, *Chaeft Khan* was appointed by Shah Jehan to the government of Berar,

* We have seen a drawing of this monument, made by an English officer in 1773.

and in 1652 to the more important command of Guzerat. In 1656 he was employed by Aurengzebe, at that time viceroy of the Decan, to serve as Lieutenant to his eldest son Mahomed (not Mauzum) in the war of Golcondah. In the contention of Shāw Jehan's sons for the throne in 1658, he served with sultan Darah, whom he betrayed by giving intelligence and guides to Aurengzebe, which led him to turn the strong intrenchments of Darah on the river Chumbul, whom this movement obliged to give battle, in order to save Agra, and the emperor there; when he was entirely defeated, and owed not a little of his ill success to the farther treachery of *Chaeft Khan*, who commanded the right wing, and retreated without making any efforts, which might have retrieved the field. Darah hastening to Agra, accused *Chaeft Khan* to Shah Jehan, and by his order proceeded immediately to take possession of the imperial treasures at Delhi. *Chaeft Khan*, relying on his friends with Aurengzebe, and at Agra, marched thither with unconcern, as if still in the service of Darah, and appeared with confidence

dence in the emperor's presence, who ordered him to instant death; but *Chaeft Khan* reminded him, that the day was sacred by the Alcoran from bloodshed; on which he was reserved for the next, when a multitude of 10,000 men of his own adherents, and Aurengzebe's, surrounded the citadel, and threatened to scale the walls, if he were not immediately released; which was complied with. A few days after, Aurengzebe, with his brother Morad, encamped near Agra; messages passed, and Aurengzebe agreed to visit his father in the citadel, who intended to seize him, which he signified in a letter to sultan Darah at Delhi. This letter *Chaeft Khan* intercepted, and carried to Aurengzebe; who evaded the interview, but sent his son Mahomed to make the visit; who, by a counter deception, got possession with his own guards of the citadel, and the person of the emperor his grandfather. This happened on the 15th of June 1658. Mahomed was left governor of the citadel, and *Chaeft Khan* of the city, when Aurengzebe and Morad marched towards Delhi against Darah. On the way, at Mattura, Morad

was seized by Aurengzebe, and sent to Agra, to the ward of Mahomed and *Chaeft Khan*. In August *Chaeft Khan* marched to intercept Soliman Sheko, the son of Darah, who pushed into Cashmire; on which *Chaeft Khan* returned to Agra, where he continued to the end of this year 1658, when Aurengzebe sent him a reinforcement, from apprehensions of the attempts of Soliman Sheko, from Serinagur. Aurengzebe, in the mean time, was following Darah from Delhi to Lahore, and from Lahore to Multan, where Darah escaped; and Aurengzebe returned by the same route to Delhi, where he arrived in December, and, passed into the Doab, which is the country between the Jumna and the Ganges, in order to encounter his brother Sultan Sujah, advancing from Bengal; whom he defeated at Kidgwah, near Allahabad, on the 15th of January 1659; and two days after, the Mahah Rajah Jesswont Sing, who had turned against Aurengzebe during the battle with Sujah, plundered his camp in the ensuing night, and then maintained a running fight against Aurengzebe himself, which secured his booty:

F

retreating

retreating with which, he passed under the walls of Agra, and was only deterred from assailing the city by the hasty approach of Aurengzebe's vanguard; for *Chaeft Khan*, who ought to have defended it, was frightened out of his senses, and even made attempts to kill himself. From this time the war was removed to a distance from Agra, which left *Chaeft Khan* out of the danger he detested. *Darah*, through various adventures, after his flight from *Multan*, came to *Ahmedabad*, where his maternal uncle *Shanavaze Khan* resided, as *Subah* of the province of *Guzerat*; who, besides this common relation to all the sons of *Shah Jehan*, had in addition the alliance of father-in-law to Aurengzebe and *Morad*, to whom his daughters were married. So that although injured by the fate of *Morad*, his revenge on the perpetrator would have fallen upon one equally related to himself; and this consideration, with the ascendance of Aurengzebe's fortune, might have determined him to neutrality in the contest between Aurengzebe and *Darah*: but he was a man of goodness, and his daughter, the wife of *Morad*, was in his palace,

palace, whose bitter supplications against the impending murderer of her husband prevailed on him to join the cause of Darah; for whom he levied an army, and marched with him towards Azmir, where they expected the Mahah Rajah would, as he had promised, join them with all his force. Aurengzebe, on the first intelligence of this new confederacy, marched from Delhi through Agra to Azmir, and on the way persuaded the Mahah Rajah not to move. This disappointment left the force of Darah and Shanavaze Khan utterly unequal to Aurengzebe's; and obliged them to take post in a strong situation, which the skill of some Europeans in Darah's service rendered impregnable. Aurengzebe, as usual, recurred to stratagem, and employed Debere Chan, and Joyfing, to proffer their defection on a certain day with the troops of their commands. Darah, contrary to the advice of Shanavaze Khan, accepted their treachery; which, as soon as they were admitted within the lines, manifested itself by a furious attack on the camp. Shanavaze Khan fell by the lance of Debere. Aurengzebe advanced,

ced, and Darah escaped with difficulty from the general defeat, but only to find no refuge in the vast empire to which he was heir. He trusted to the shelter of gratitude, and was betrayed by the man whose life he had twice saved. He was carried as a criminal to Delhi, and put to death there by the order of Aurengzebe, on the 11th of September 1659. In the mean time, the general Emir Jumlah had driven Sultan Sujah out of Bengal; who, with his two sons, and all his family, were soon after destroyed by the Rajah of Aracan. Thus, at the end of the year 1659, Aurengzebe was in possession of the throne without a competitor, who was not his prisoner; for Soliman Sheko had been delivered up to him by the Rajah of Serinagur, and was with Morad confined in Guialaur; and the emperor Shah Jehan, to his palace within the citadel of Agra.

In the beginning of 1660, Aurengzebe appointed *Chaeft Khan* to the command of the Decan; he was, without doubt, by his birth and connections, the first subject in the empire, not of the royal blood; and Aurengzebe treated him as such to the end of his life.

In

In 1661, he engaged in the warfare against SEVAGI, which has brought his origin, and the revolution of Aurengzebe, under our notice.

N O T E XI.

Page 13, line 4. *Was stopped much longer before Chagna.*] The manner in which Chagna was taken, is described by Mr. Dow, with all the circumstances that can render it probable. The use of bombs would have precluded this invention of the kite; but nothing has occurred to our reading, which indicates that they had hitherto been made use of in the armies of Aurengzebe. Even at this day, they are rarely used by the native powers of India, unless when assisted by the disciplined artillery-men of Europe.

N O T E XII.

Page 17, line 10. *He was received by Aurengzebe with much courtesy, which continued until the ladies of the seraglio, incited by the wife of Chaeft Khan, in revenge for the death*

death of her son, and the disgrace of her husband, solicited Aurengzebe, not unwilling to destroy him. But the high Omrahs, &c. &c.]

Mr. Dow, we suppose from one of his Persic manuscripts, relates the risques which SEVAGI incurred and escaped at Delhi, in a different manner from the account which we have adopted. According to Mr. Dow, SEVAGI defied Aurengzebe at the first audience, of which the ladies of the seraglio were spectators through the usual curtain allowed to their curiosity ;
“ the daughter of Aurengzebe was struck
“ with the handsomeness of his person,
“ admired his pride and haughty deport-
“ ment, and interceded at the feet of her father,” who had ordered SEVAGI to be carried, as an offender, out of his sight.

It is scarcely probable that the daughter of Aurengzebe should, from the mere disposition of the sex to admire courage, take so much interest in the fate of a stranger, who had rendered himself so detestable to her relations, the family of *Chæst Khan*, who was her father's uncle, and the first subject in the kingdom. It is as little probable that SEVAGI's person should have inspired

inspired the lady with such violent compassion. "Ce Rajah," says Thevenot, "est petit et bazané, avec des yeux vifs" "qui marquent beaucoup d'esprit." And this description, as far as it goes, agrees with his picture; in which his figure, although very compact, is not elegant; and his physiognomy, although very significant, has no beauty. Mr. Thevenot arrived at Surat within a year after SEVAGI had plundered it for the first time, and with the greatest detriment; his return, for the same purpose, was continually feared, which must have made his life and character a constant subject of discussion amongst thousands, who had seen him so much to their cost: and Mr. Thevenot had too much sagacity to be deceived in the selection of what he ought to believe. We therefore prefer his authority, as low down as he treats of SEVAGI, to any other we have seen. See Note vi. Article 3.

N O T E XIII.

Page 20. line 19. *Their principal situation was at the city of Jenneah, which lies*

under the impregnable fortrefs of the same name.] Doctor Fryer was sent from Bombay, in the month of May 1674, to cure the Mogul's governor at JENNEAH; and describes his journey, the city, the camp of the Mogul's army, and the fortrefs on the rock, which is called JENNEAH GUR. The governor of the fortrefs, distinct from him of the city, invited Mr. Fryer to ascend the rock, and permitted him to examine the fortrefs without restraint; for no intelligence could hurt it. Mr. Fryer has engraved the stages of this journey; which we have inserted, as well as we could, into the map which accompanies these FRAGMENTS.

N O T E XIV.

Page 27, line 12. *These events closed with the year 1666.*] The death of Jysing, mentioned by Bernier, confines the conclusion of this pretended revolt of Sultan Mauzum, at the latest, to the beginning of the year 1667. Bernier dates his letter, on the Gentiles of India, from Shiraz in Persia, on the 4th of October 1667, so that he must

must at the latest have left India, in the beginning of this year, and he speaks of the death of Jyasing, as an event before his departure. Manouchi, who accompanied Sultan Mauzum, mentions expressly the concern which the Rajah Jyasing took in this fictitious revolt; and we have no right to impute to him such a defect of memory supplied by invention; as we should, by supposing that Jyasing was at this time dead. On the other hand, Mr. Dow places the revolt in the year 1668, and considers it as really intended, if Sultan Mauzum could have seized Delire Khan, who, apprized of the design, marched away to Delhi. Mr. Dow makes the Maha Rajah (Jeswont Sing) the principal abettor of the Sultan; and does not even mention either the Rajah Jyasing or SEVAGI, in the account he gives of this business. These differences can only be decided by authentic informations from India.

N O T E X V.

Page 29, line 2. *The GAUTS.*] We have
met with two descriptions of the passage
G over

over the GAUTS, one at each extremity of the CONCAN. To the north, Mr. Fryer, in his journey to Jenneah in 1674*, passed over the GAUT of Decir, fifty miles north-east of Bombay; and returned by an easier, called Nunny gaut, a little lower down: his description seems to partake of the fatigue he endured. Mr. Anquetil de Perron, in his journey from Goa to Poonah and Aurengabad, in March 1758, went over the Gaut of Pondah, which is thirty-five miles to the south-east of Goa; and says, "A sept heures et
" demie, je me trouvai au pied des
" GHATES; J'arrivai au haut a onze
" heures, apres metre reposé trois fois en
" route; le chemin etoit affreux et presque
" a pic; a droite & a gauche se precipi-
" toient au milieu des ronces, des ar-
" brisseaux et des rochers, des torrens
" qui faisoient un bruit effrayant." His description of the magnificent prospect from the summit towards the sea, is sublime. We have inserted his route from Goa to Aurengabad in our map; and respect to the improvement of geography induces us to say, that no traveller, con-

* See Note vi. Art. ix.

tinually struggling with so many difficulties, ever kept so accurate a register of his way, in all his journies. He not only gives every distance that has a name or note, on the road, but the nature of the country, with every thing remarkable within his view, on either hand. We suspect a few errors of the press in his publication; and therefore with the more that we had maps made under his own inspection, to follow in the routes we have inserted in our own from his details; which otherwise would leave the compass of the geographer nothing to doubt.

N O T E XVI.

Page 32, line 17. *The CORLAHS.*] We do not recollect to have found this term in use in any other part of India. But RIBEIRO, in his account of Ceylon, says, that the ancient principalities of this island, before the conquest of the Portuguese, were thus called; and accordingly M. Delisle, in the map which he composed for the translation of Ribeiro by the Abbé le Grand, gives the name of CORLAHS

to all the principal divisions. The word is rightly spelt in the ancient records of Bombay, but has by degrees changed into CORRIES, which is the only term in use there at present to signify the districts on the opposite main; which we mention merely that the enquirers in our behalf may know what we mean.

NOTE XVII.

Page 33, line 2. *The fortified island of Gingerah.*] Mr. Alexander Dalrymple has given a very neat view and plan of *Gingerah*, with a plan of the harbour and entrance of the river of Dunda Rajapore. It is in his collection of plans of ports in the East Indies, published London 1775.

NOTE XVIII.

Page 33, line 15. *And at the end of 1669, appeared suddenly at the head of his army before Surat, &c. &c.*] Carré, in his first volume, opens the history of SEVAGI in these terms: "L'an 1669, Surate fut pillée
" pour

“ pour la seconde fois par l’armée de SE-
 “ VAGI.” Carré afterwards relates many particulars of this second ransack; but without mention of the season, which we have ventured to suppose the end of the year, from combination, always doubtful; and wish for certainty from better authority; which may be obtained at Surat, but not from English records, for there are none of this date in the factory. Other cotemporary publications agree that Surat was twice sacked by SEVAGI, and none fix the second pillage before 1669.

It is likewise from Carré that we take the death of the governor of Surat; who, he says, dropped down dead on kissing a letter sent to him by Aurengzebe, in consequence of his treachery with SEVAGI; and the French surgeons who opened his head, easily perceived the trace of the poison. A bold assertion! The governors of Surat were not at this time powerful enough to secure even their meals from the influence of Aurengzebe, and this governor might have been poisoned by his means; which ignorance, and the love of wonder, converted to their own conceits: for

amongst the Mahomedans of India, as well as of Turkey, it is a mark of science to be credulous in alchymies, and to spend money in quest of the philosopher's stone, the elixir of life, and other supernatural effects; and where the better sort believe the possibility, the many rarely doubt the fact; as in this instance, how a poison, of which the effluvia was to produce instant death, could be prepared or fixed to a letter, without detriment to the operator.

Nothing has contributed more to bring the authenticity of travels into disrepute, than this propensity to relate and believe events which contradict the experience of philosophy. What traveller, on the Malabar coast, has not seen the ordeal trial in boiling oil, without harm to the patient? OVINGTON believes a prediction related to him by Mr. Bartholomew Harris, in 1690, and made by a bramin to Mr. Angier, concerning the arrival of a ship from England, which was verified at the very hour. Another bramin, according to HAMILTON, foretells the death of the English chief at Carwar; which happened with equal punctuality. The MISSIONARIES abound in necromancies,

cies, and the power of fascination. The shrewd but credulous Navarette has a house assaulted every night by invisible fiends, ducks and mice produced from the leaves of trees, &c. &c.

Even the judicious Sir Thomas Roe has one doubtful story. Mr. Anquetil du Perron, none.

N O T E XIX.

Page 34, line 12. *And reinforcements were ordered to join them even from the province of Behar.*] DE GRAAF, the Dutch surgeon, arrived in BENGAL at the end of 1669. In September of the next year, he was sent from their factory at Cossimbuzar, to cure the chief of their factory at Patna; and being a good draughtsman, was instructed to take plans and views of what he might see worthy of remark along the Ganges, on which he proceeded in a boat, accompanied by a young writer. He accordingly went ashore at Monghir, and walked round the fort, measuring the circumference from the river to the river, and the distances between the towers, of

which he took notes as he went : but had been observed from the walls, and when he came again to his boat, found it under a strong guard, which carried him and his companion to the fort. Monghir at this time had been little frequented by Europeans ; for the governor asked him what nation the Dutch were, and whether they believed in Mahomed ; and not knowing what to judge of the travellers, confined them under much hardship in the common prison of criminals : at length, after several councils held at his durbar, and farther interrogatories, he told DE GRAAF, “ that “ they were not Dutchmen, for none came “ there ; but two rascally Portuguese, “ sent by SEVAGI, who was in rebellion “ at Surat, to examine the country and “ its cities, in order to attack them “ when the opportunity should offer.” Likewise, “ that he should keep them “ prisoners until he heard from the Mogul at Agra.” On which DE GRAAF wrote to the Dutch factories at Hughley and Patna, who procured orders from the nabob of Behar, for their immediate release ; which the governor of Monghir would

I

would

would not obey, until the Nabob threatened to come from Patna and bring them away himself.

Thus after seven weeks confinement, they were released on the 26th of November. " Three days after they left Mong-
 " hir, they met the troops of a Gentoo
 " prince called AMARTING (Amarfing)
 " which consisted of 1200 horsemen well
 " equipped, forty camels, six elephants,
 " many oxen, and a large body of foot.
 " There were besides a great number of
 " boats of various kinds, which carried the
 " baggage and provisions. These people
 " came from the mountain of Aflang, and
 " were going to Delhi and Agra, in order
 " to join the army of the Mogul, and af-
 " terwards march against the rebel se-
 " VAGI."

N O T E XX.

Page 35, line 15. *In the beginning of 1671, he appeared again before Surat, &c.]*
 We take this from De Graaf, when arrived at Patna; who says, after the 31st of January 1671, " The letters which were
 H " received

“ received *at or about this time* from Surat,
 “ by the way of Agra, gave information
 “ of the pillages exercised by the prince
 “ SEVAGI, the contributions he exacted,
 “ and the ravages he committed at Surat
 “ and the adjacencies. He demanded a
 “ large sum from the Dutch factory, but
 “ it was refused.”

N O T E XXI.

Page 44, line 9. *Richloff Van Goen.*] He reduced Manar, and Jaffnapatam in 1658, which compleated the extermination of the Portugueze out of Ceylon; and in 1661, 1662, he took from them Ceylon, Crangainor, and Cochin. He was succeeded by his son Richloff, in the government of Ceylon, in 1675; and in 1678, became governor general of Batavia.

N O T E XXII.

Page 45, line 4. *Five French ships had come into the harbour.*] * Dellon, the physician, was in one of these ships; but we

* See Note vi. Article v. page xii. of these Notes.

write from the Bombay records of the year.

N O T E XXIII.

Page 47, line 20. *At Hubely.*] This place, notwithstanding its importance, is not mentioned in any map that we have seen, nor in our manuscript of the Decan; but Mr. FRYER says, that Viziapore is ten days journey from Carwar, and HUBELY six. We have placed it accordingly in our map.

N O T E XXIV.

Page 48, line 25. *The English company, as before at the taking of Rajapore, had lost effects to a considerable value in the sack of Hubely.*] The English factory at Carwar generally kept a broker at HUBELY to sell their imports, and collect the cloth intended for England, which was all provided on the other side of the gauts: for according to Mr. Fryer, "CARWAR has no peculiar commodities or manufactories of its own product." He was there in 1676;

and says, " the factory was then decay-
" ing, by reason of the embroils of the
" country, merchants being out of heart
" to buy or sell." Nevertheless the in-
vestment ordered for 1683 was considera-
ble, and consisted of the following ar-
ticles :

200 tons of *pepper*.

51,000 pieces of *dungarrees*, full yard-
wide, and 18 yards long (above 1000
bales).

8000 pieces of *pautkaes*.

10,600 pieces of *percollaes*, of 15 yards
long the pancura, and yard broad.

50 bales of cardamums.

2000 pieces of *baftaes*, broad.

2000 pieces of *sevaguzzies*.

50 candies, each 500 lb. of *cassia lig-
num*.

Dungaree is the lighter sail-cloth of In-
dia ; and this quantity might have been
ordered in consequence of some expecta-
tion of a war with the states of Holland ;
but only 8000 pieces were procured. The
intention, nevertheless, proves that Vizia-
pore was at this time in repute for the
abundance of its manufactures, which at

present scarcely supply more than the consumption of its diminished inhabitants.

N O T E XXV.

Page 57, line 4. *As king of the Morattoe nation, &c. &c.*] FERITSHA pretends, that the fabulous histories of the Hindoos describe the divisions and subdivisions of their own country, by personifying them into a genealogy from HIND, India, who was the eldest son of Ham, the son of Noah. HIND had four sons; POURIB, the north (division); BANG, Bengal; DECAN, the south, or the country south of the Nerbeddah; NARWAAL, Guzerat. Decan had three sons, MARHAT, all the countries inhabited by the *Marattoes*; CONHER, all in which the language of the Canarins is spoken; TELING, all in which the Telinga, or what Europeans call the Gentoo language. We have no notion that the Hindoos admit any such genealogy. Their chronology reckons by myriads.

The same FERITSHA, in his history of the Decan, which is not translated, says, that the *Morattoes* claim an antiquity of

5000

5000 years as a nation and a sovereignty, which is many centuries before the deluge.

However both assertions prove, that the Mahomedans esteem the Marattoes to be as ancient as any other of the Hindoo races.

It is a very admissible conjecture, to suppose that their ancient country extended wheresoever their language prevails at present. It is from Mr. ANQUETIL DU PERON we learn that it is spoken westward of the *gauts*, from the island of Bardez near Goa, to the river Tapti, on which Surat is situated. Our MANUSCRIPT account of the DECAN says they were anciently in possession of the country which is at present comprized under the *Circar*, or immediate government, of Aurengabad. Allowing the same extent from north to south as far as this meridian to the eastward of the *gauts*, as from Bardez to the Tapti on the westward, their inland country* exceeded that on the sea-coast by 150 miles in breadth, and the whole on both sides of the mountains, may be esteemed 340 miles from north to south, and 200 from west to east, in the finest climate of India.

Their

Their language, as all others of any purity in India, is a derivation of the *Sanscrit*, partakes of its difficulties, and is esteemed by themselves nearer the original than either the Canarin or Malabar. Their creed and religious rites are peculiar to themselves; but the Canarins use the same character, and regulate their chronology by the same cycle. This from Mr. Anquetil du Perron.

That part of their country which forms at present the government of Aurengabad, was the first that felt the fury of the Mahomedans, when ravaged in the year 1311, by Caffoor, the general of Sultan Alaeddin, or Secunder Sani, emperor of Delhi; under which sovereignty it continued forty years: but we cannot ascertain the subsequent subjections of the nation to the Mahomedan kings of Candish and Viziapore, and to the present dynasty of Moguls. At the time of SEVAGI's revolt, the king of Viziapore possessed all the Morattoe country on the coast, from the districts of Bonfolo to Gallian, and the mountains and eastern country farther north; but the Portugueze had their fortrefs of Chaul
on

on the main, with the islands of Bombay and Salcette. The Moguls levied a slight tribute in some of the more northern hills, and possessed all the better country between Surat and Aurengabad. The nation thus subjected, adhered, in many divisions, to different chiefs, comforted by prophecies of recovering their ancient dominion, but without confederacy, until SEVAGI, a stranger, encouraged by his first successes, formed the idea of collecting all the divisions into one state.

N O T E XXVI.

Page 58, line 10. *They (the Dutch fleet) met, near Metchlepatam, a fleet of ten East Indiamen.*] Mr. Fryer, the physician, sailed in the Unity, one of the ships of this fleet, of which all but one arrived together on the coast of Coromandel, and falling to the northward of Madrafs, went to Metchlepatam, from whence, after a month's stay, they came to Madrafs, either at the end of July or the beginning of August, 1673, where they found the missing ship. Hav-
ing

ing staid nine days at Madrafs, all the ten sailed again to Masulipatam, and were dispatched from thence to the factory at Pettipolly, where they fell in with the Dutch fleet of twenty-two sail, which they might have avoided, but chose to fight; although not all with equal resolution. The Bombay, captain Erwin, received eighty shot in her hull, and some of them between wind and water, which filled her with so much, that she quitted, after an hour's engagement. The Admiral ship, the London, captain Bafs, having lost thirty-six men, likewise bore away, but after a longer fight, to stop her leaks; and joining the Bombay, was followed by the Massinberg, captain Westlock, the Unity, captain Craft, the Ann, captain Brown, the East India Merchant, captain Cooley, and the Cæsar, captain Andrews; leaving their three comrades surrounded by the whole of the enemy's fleet of twenty-two ships, against which they nevertheless maintained the fight until utterly disabled. The President, captain Hide, vice admiral, was boarded several times; and in the Sampson, captain Erning, the rear admiral was killed; before

either struck: Captain Goldsbery stranded his ship the Sampson, rather than let her belong to the Dutch; and had the good fortune to escape ashore with what remained of his crew. The seven ships who had born away, came to Madras on the 1st of September. We take this account principally from Fryer, who was not in the engagement, having been detained at Madras when the ships returned to Metchlepatam.

N O T E XXVII.

Page 60, line 10. *Mr. Henry Oxenden was deputed, and Sevagi received his visit with civility.*] FRYER has given Mr. Oxenden's *Narrative* of this embassy to Sevagi, and the journey to Rairee. Mr. Oxenden has not been curious in the geography of his journey; he only mentions the resting-places, which are only four, and, excepting Esthemy, the first stage, leaves us to guess the hours, and rate of his travelling, in order to determine the distances of the stages. Esthemy, he says, is six leagues up the river of Chaul, but does not mention the course

course of the river; but from combination with an improbable position, which must otherwise be given to Rairee, we have ventured to suppose that it flows from the south-west, and, according to this conjecture, have marked the stages of Mr. Oxenden's journey, and the situation of RAIREE in our map. Mr. Fryer has given this track separately on the same plate as his map of the peninsula, but sets Esthemy E. N. E. of Chaul.

N O T E XXVIII.

Page 60, line 20. *He was publicly weighed against gold, and the sum amounting to 16000 pagodas.]* which is equal to 112 pounds avoirdupoize, and agrees with such a make as his picture describes.

N O T E XXIX.

Page 61, line 20. *Admitting eighteen of twenty articles proposed.]* We have the twenty articles from the Bombay records of the time, as settled there with Sevagi's

agent, and delivered to Mr. Oxenden, to procure Sevagi's ratification of them at Rairee.

N O T E XXX.

Page 62, line penult. *In the ruined city of Gallian.*] This town, at the time of SEVAGI's revolt, belonged to the kingdom of Viziapore. It was taken by the Portuguese in 1636, who do not seem to have maintained it with a constant garrison. Mr. Fryer was there in April 1675; and we shall give his description, as it marks the ancient magnificence of a city, which no one else mentions as of considerable note. He says, " Early therefore the next morning
" (April the 26th) I left the most glorious
" ruins the Mahomedans in Decan ever had
" cause to deplore: for this city, once the
" chief emporry, excelled not only in trade,
" but the general consequent, sumptuousness,
" if the reliques of the stately fabrics
" may add credit to such a belief; which
" reliques, notwithstanding the fury of the
" Portugals, afterwards of the Mogul,
" since

“ since of SEVAGI, and now lately again
“ of the Mogul (whose flames were hardly
“ extinguished at my being here, and the
“ governor and people on that score being
“ prepared more for flight than defence at
“ present) are still the extant marks of its
“ pristine height. The remaining build-
“ ings having many stories of square facing
“ stones, and the mosques, which are nu-
“ merous, of the same, abating little of
“ their ancient lustre, being all watered
“ with delicate tanks, about which are
“ costly tombs, with their distinct chapels
“ or mosques, where formerly the *mul-*
“ *lahs* (or priests) had fat pensions to
“ pray for their departed souls, which is
“ maintained by them as efficacious :
“ wherefore they covet funerals in the
“ most conspicuous places, which the
“ pleasant summer-houses hanging over
“ here, cause these places to be. The un-
“ employed people of the town daily
“ wasting their time in these inviting va-
“ rieties, which is the only thing pleads
“ for their continuance, SEVAGI, as a
“ Gentu, being otherwise inclined to
“ raze them ; yet purposely to pervert
“ them

“ them from the use of the donors, and
“ intention of the founders, orders them
“ to be converted into granaries, especially
“ those within the city. The houses the
“ present inhabitants kennel in, are mean;
“ the people beggarly, by reason of these
“ hostile incursions.”

Mr. Fryer was received with civility by Sevagi's officers in the town, and they appointed a great mosque for his lodging.

It is probable, that Gallian existed early in the 14th century, as the immediate metropolis of Salcette, Bombay, Bassien, and all the adjacent country, although under a higher power. Friar Oderic of Priuli, who had returned from his travels to India, and wrote his account of them in the year 1330, says, that he arrived in twenty-eight days from Ormus, at a city called Thana (on the island of Salcette) and describes particularly the martyrdom of four friars, which had happened there some time before his arrival; whose piety had led them to dispute before the Cadi, or ecclesiastical judge of the town, and to tell him that his prophet Mahomed was in hell with his father the devil: on which
the

the governor, whom Oderic intitles Meleck, executed them under excessive tortures: but the king of the country, DODSI, called up the Meleck, and having examined the case, put him and all his family to death for his despotism and cruelty; on which the Cadi of Tannah fled the country. Friar Oderic collected and carried away with him the bones of the martyrs, to which he imputes several miracles.

It is evident from this account, that Tannah was under a Mahomedan government, and most probably GALLIAN likewise; but king DODSI must have been a Gentoo, who entrusted the command of them to Mahomedans, in order to encourage the resort of their trade from Persia and Arabia.

We are aware, from Mr. D'Anville, that Tannah only is mentioned in the tables of Nassereddin, and Uleg Beg, who flourished in 1261 and 1437, and by Abulfeda, who was cotemporary with Friar Oderic. But as no vestiges of magnificence have been discovered at Tannah, and as no vessels of burthen can pass beyond it towards Gallian, Tannah might be the port of deposite; to which merchants occasionally repaired to

transact business with the ships, who nevertheless might consecrate the enjoyment of their fortunes to the more splendid residence of Gallian. And Mr. D'Anville himself supports us in the notion, even of an earlier antiquity, by supposing, that the famous Calliana of the Periplus Maris Erythræi, and of Cosmas Indicopleustes, is the island of Caranjah, in the harbour of Bombay; for we have no doubt that he would have appropriated Calliana to Gallian, if he had ever seen a map in which this place had been laid down. The Periplus is imputed to the 2d century—Cosmas travelled in the 6th.

N O T E XXXI.

Page 69, line 22. *In the island of Soolo—where his tomb is shewn at this day.*] Mr. Dalrymple has seen the tomb.

N O T E XXXII.

Page 70, line 1. *That he continued alive in Indostan.*] SEVAGI, when he plundered Surat in 1664, gave out, in mockery of Aurengzebe, that he had Sultan Sujah in his camp, who, as, rightful emperor, had given him the town.

lying at five days journey from each other.] Neither of these places is mentioned in our manuscript of the Decan, either under the *subah* of VIZIAPORE or of BEDER; consequently neither have the rule over a *purgunnah* or district, in either of these *subahs*: but strong forts are often separated as *seifs* or *jaghires*, from the ordinary municipal government; and we have no doubt of the existence of these, because we find them mentioned in the letters of this year 1677, from Bombay to the Presidency at Surat. We wish they may be enquired after. Coylas Rayim, by its name, should stand on an exceeding high mountain; for Coylas Guddi, which we have seen in the valley of Ambour, means the house in heaven.

N O T E XXXV.

Page 83, line 8. *Bahadur Cawn—listened to proposals from Sevagi, who offered, it is said, 400,000 pagodas with his homage of fealty to the Mogul, on condition that permission were obtained for his passage thro' the territory of Golcondah, to attack that part*
of

of the Carnatic which was subject to Viziapore.] Neither SEVAGI's intention of attacking the Carnatic, nor his stipulation for the passage of his army through the territory of Golcondah, were publicly known when he concluded the terms of peace with Bahadur Cawn. At that time an agent, named Narrain Sinay, was sent from Bombay to Morah Pundit, at Chaul, in order to settle the payment of what remained due from SEVAGI on Mr. Oxenden's agreement, and other detriments. This Narrain Sinay writes from Chaul, in the beginning of December (1676) that

“Sevagi is to pay the Mogul 400,000
 “pagodas yearly, to assist him with 5000
 “horse, and that he saw Morah Pundit
 “send to Rairee for four lacks (400,000)
 “of pagodas, to send away immediately
 “for the first year's payment; and that
 “the 5000 horse were gone under the
 “command of Narangi Pundit.” Such an agreement, consented to by such a dealer as Sevagi, would have been equivalent to an open avowal of his intentions not to abide by it; he neither parted with his money nor his troops so easily on any

terms, much less on expectation. We have no doubt that Morah Pundit sent some money to Bahadur Cawn, and intended to send more, as circumstances might require: on the other hand, it was natural that Morah Pundit should wish the English at Bombay might believe that Sevagi's country during his absence was under the immediate protection of the Mogul; since from this respect they would be less cautious of refusing their harbour to the Siddie, who only claimed it on the same pretension. Accordingly Bombay writes to Surat on the 20th of December, that "the peace is broken, because Sevagi would not deliver his son Sambagi as a hostage." But again, Bombay writes to England, on the 19th of March 1677, "We have some credible reports that there is peace concluded between Sevagi and the Mogul, but dare not absolutely affirm it, though some of our servants, that are now come from up the hill, say that there is free egress and regress out of Sevagi's into the Mogul's dominions: if so, we have hopes to open a trade directly up the country, which

“ which in time may much advance the
 “ customs, and encrease the trade and
 “ splendor of the island.” There was
 peace: and no mention of hostilities in
 the Bombay record during the rest of the
 year.

MANOUCHI, so far from supposing that
 Sevagi paid any thing for the truce, says
 that Aurengzebe, from his greater apprehensions in the war of the Pitans, ordered
 his son Sultan Mauzum “ to make peace
 “ with Sevagi, without regard to the dig-
 “ nity of the empire, and to the chastise-
 “ ment of an adventurer, who had crowned
 “ himself with his own hands.”

N O T E XXXVI.

Page 84, line 3. *But the king (of Chan-
 dergherri, at the close of the 16th century)
 is stiled king of Bisnagar, for what reason
 we do not find, unless from the ancient title
 of a lost possession; for the city of Bisnagar
 is situated on the other side of the Carnatic
 mountains, 200 miles to the N. W. of Chan-
 dergherri, and was at this time part of the
 dominion of the Mahomedan king of Vizia-*

pore.] Cæsar Frederic, the Venetian, set out in 1563, and continued in the East Indies until 1681. In 1567 he went from Goa to Bifnagar : the account he gives of the state of this kingdom is very obscure, nevertheless we shall endeavour to guess his meaning. The hereditary king of Bifnagar, a Gentoo, had for many years been kept in confinement by his ministers, Ramragio *, who represented on the throne, and was called king ; Timiragio †, who held the seals, and managed the revenues ; Bengatre ‡, who commanded the army, in which were two moorish captains of note and influence. The three ministers became impatient of the life of the king, and the son of Timiragio put him to death in his confinement ; which raised discontent, of which the two moorish captains took advantage, and invited an invasion, which was accordingly made by the four neighbouring Mahomedan kings, who were, *Dialcan* (Idal Caun) king of Viziapore ; *Zamuluc* (Nizamalmuluck, king of

* Ram Rajah:

† Temi Rajah.

‡ Venkitrou.

Berar)

Berar) who resided at Ahmednagar; *Cotamuluck* (Cuttub Shaw) king of Golcondah; *Vindy* (king of I don't know what, unless it be Candish). Ramragio and Bengatre fell in the battle against the four kings, and Timiragio fled with the loss of an eye: but the wives and children of all the three were sent away in safety. The four kings entered BISNAGAR, and remained in it four months, searching and digging for treasure; and then, says Frederic, "departed to their own kingdoms, "because they were not able to maintain "such a kingdom as that was, so far distant from their own country."

After the departure of the four kings, Timiragio returned to Bisnagar, and invited the merchants at Goa to bring horses, whom he afterwards cheated. Frederic went in company with two of these horse merchants, to buy diamonds, which were brought from the mine of Raolkondah, and staid seven months at Bisnagar, until the ways were cleared of thieves, but might otherwise have done his business in one.

He

He then says, that the king and his court, by reason of the facking of the four kings, went to dwell in *Penigondah*, a castle eight days up in the land from Bishnagar; that this city was twenty-four miles in circumference, and had fallen to such decay in consequence of the war and capture, that many parts of it were infested by tygers; but that the palaces of the three tyrants, and the pagodas, were remaining unimpaired: that he had seen many, but never saw such a palace as that of Bishnagar; by which we suppose he means the ancient palace of the ancient kings. By the king and his court, who went to dwell at *Penigondah*, we conclude he must mean Timiragio. There is a *Penukonda* marked by Mr. D'ANVILLE, as a fort on a rock, situated on the bank of the Penar, about midway in its course to the north, before it turns to the east: twenty miles west of this fort is a *Pakonda*, which is only marked as a common town; but from a later map of the Decan, of which we may hereafter trace the documents, we have inserted into our own a considerable fort on a rock, called *Palikondah*, which

which stands north of the other two, and twenty miles west of the elbow of the Paliar, not far from Shirpi. We cannot determine whether either, or which, is the Penigondah of Frederic, but all the three stand equally convenient for the transfer of a fugitive government to CHANDERGHERRI, from which they are distant 120, 130, and 140 miles. It still remains to know, whether the king of Chandergherri, to whom the jesuits went in 1599, was a descendant of Temiragio, or of the rightful king of Bisnagar, murdered by Temiragio's son ; but we believe of Temiragio. We wish all this were enquired for in India, which may perhaps be found at once with the Bramins at Tripety.

Frederic, after his return from Bisnagar to Goa, saw, in different voyages, all the ports from hence to Cape Comorin, and on the coast of Coromandel from Comorin to San Thomé. It appears from his evidence, that the kingdom of Bisnagar extended from sea to sea : on the western coast from the river of Carwar to Mangalore, 120 miles ; on the eastern, from Negapatam to San Thomé, and probably farther

ther north to Nelore, which would be 240; the breadth across the peninsula is nearly 300 miles. The whole of the present kingdom of Tanjore was under the dominion of Bisnagar, and governed by a Naigue or deputy, who treated the Portuguese at Negapatam with imperiousness; and at San Thomé they submitted to whatsoever exactions were imposed. The sea-coast of the Maravars and Tinivelly was under other jurisdiction.

N O T E XXXVII.

Page 84, line 11. *Two Portuguese jesuits, from St. Thomé went to Chandergherri, in the year 1599, and were received with attentions by the Gentoo king, whose sovereignty they describe as extending over the countries of Tanjore and Madura; and other jesuits who travelled at the same time into these countries, confirm the assertion.*] Our authorities may be found from page 726 to page 808 of the book, entitled, “De rebus Japonicis, Indicis, & Peruvianis, Epistolæ recentiores, a Joanne Hayo, Scoto, Societatis Jesu, in Librum unum coactæ cervatæ.

“cervatæ. Antverpiæ, M, DC, V. Octavo.”

These jesuits, one or other, were at *Negapatam, Tranquebar, Tanjore, Chillambrum, Gingee, Thevenapatam, Conimeer, Trivadi, Salawauk, Sadrafs, Chinglapett, Conjeveram, Tripety, Pulliacat, Armegon, Cotapatam, Trivalore*; likewise at *Madura*, but none make mention of *Tritchinpally*; nor they who went to *Chandergherri*, of *Arcot*: their relations are very curious.

The *Theſaurus* of *Jarric*, printed at *Cologne* in 1615, not only gives all that is published by *Haye* concerning this mission of *Chandergherri*, but a farther account of it from subsequent letters, which confirm the sovereignty of *Chandergherri* over the *Naiques* of *GINGEE* and *TANJORE*, but describe them as too powerful not to be often refractory: and in 1609, the governor of *VELORE*, at their instigation, refused his tribute, and stood a severe siege, but was at length reduced by the king; who, amongst his other titles, which are very extravagant, styles himself *Mahometanorum exercituum debellator*; which, with other passages, prove him to have been a *GENTOO*.

N O T E XXXVIII.

Page 84, line 20. *About the year 1645, a descendant of this Gentoo king of Chandergherri, permitted the English to purchase the ground of Chinapatam, on which they raised Fort St. George, and the town of Madrafs.]* Madrafs, from its first establishment, became important to the company's commerce on the coast of Coromandel, which had before centered at Masulipatam : but since the year 1744, it has been the metropolis of the national war in India ; although Bengal has lately attempted to have its share in this fame ; of which both are at this time partaking largely. The origin of famous men and places is always an object of curiosity ; and we have lately, by the help of a record, come nearer to the foundation of Madrafs than ever we could get before. In 1661, the Presidency at Surat blamed the agency of Madrafs for persisting in giving protection to two or three capuchin friars, who were frenchmen ; although one of them had suffered an imprisonment of five years in the inquisition

sition at Goa, for accommodating his ministry to the convenience of the settlement. The agency pleaded the reasons which originally induced the permission of their residence ; to which the friars were invited in order to draw the Portugueze from San Thomé, who being considered as Europeans, would add to the military reputation of Madrafs, consequently attract the resort of the natives, and with them an increase of trade ; all which would go back to St. Thomé, or be dispersed, if the capuchins were expelled. In the course of this argument, the agency say, “ At
 “ the company’s *first* beginning to build
 “ a fort, there were only the French pa-
 “ dres, and about six fishermen’s houses ;
 “ so to intice the inhabitants to people
 “ the place, proclamation was made in
 “ the company’s name, that for the term
 “ of *thirty years*, no custom of any thing
 “ to be eaten, drank, or worn, should be
 “ taken of any of the town-dwellers.
 “ Now twenty-one years of that time
 “ being expired,” and the town become
 flourishing both in inhabitants, trade, and
 commercial customs, all will be to begin
 anew

anew if the capuchins are expelled. If twenty-one years of a term of thirty were expired in the year 1661, it follows, that Madrafs was founded in the year 1640.

N O T E XXXIX.

Page 85, line 4. *The forces of Viziapore reduced Velore, which probably was their first conquest.]*

Page 85, line 18. *It is said the kingdom of Tanjore was likewise reduced by Viziapore, but we have met with no documents to confirm this position.]*

Mr. Thevenot says, p. 273, that “ the
 “ king of Viziapore, after having taken
 “ what was in his neighbourhood, pushed
 “ his conquest to the cape of Negapatam.”
 Again, p. 274, describing the extent of
 the kingdom of Viziapore, he says, “ that
 “ it is bounded on the south by the coun-
 “ try of the Naique of Madurá, whose
 “ state extends to Cape Comorin. This
 “ Naique is tributary to the king of Vi-
 “ ziapore, as well as THE NAIQUE OF
 “ TANJORE, to whom belonged the cities
 “ of

“ of Negapatam, Tranquebar, and some
 “ others on the coast of Coromandel,
 “ when taken by the king of Viziapore.”
 These are positive assertions of the conquest of Tanjore, but we find nothing to confirm them in such letters as we have seen, written to and from Madrafs in 1661, 1668, 9, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, although they clearly point out Gingee as subject to Viziapore. Notwithstanding our respect to Mr. Thevenot’s authority, we must remark his mistake in supposing the king of Bisnagar or Chandergherri, conquered by Viziapore and Golcondah, in 1652, 1656, was a Mahomedan, with the antient title of Adil Shah, king of Narasingah; whereas the Madrafs records prove him undoubtedly a Gentoo. Mr. Thevenot says, VELORE was the capital of this king, which may be true.

N O T E XL.

Page 85, line 21. *The army of Golcondah, led by the famous Emir Jumlah, reduced all the hilly country which stretcheth north of Velore from Gandicottah towards the sea, &c.]*

&c.] TAVERNIER went from Madrafs in 1652, to sell pearls to Emir Jumlah, besieging Gandicottah, and arrived there on the 1st of September, six days after the place had surrendered. He ascribes the success to four pieces of cannon planted on a neighbouring hill, and managed by European gunners, against two, which were all the garrison had to oppose: but Thevenot says, that Jumlah invited the governor to a conference, on assurance of free return to his fortress, and kept him prisoner, until he gave orders for the surrender.

NOTE XLI.

Page 86, line 5. *They (Aurengzebe and Emir Jumlah) besieged the king of Golcondah in his capital; who, to preserve his diadem, submitted his government to the controul of the Mogul, which had continued until this time, and enabled Bahadur Cawn to procure the humiliating permission which Sevagi requested.]* Mr. Bernier says, that Aurengzebe, on making the peace, “fit consentir le roy (de Golconde) que toute la monnoye,

“ monnoye d'argent qui se fairoit defor-
“ mais porteroit d'un coté la marque de
“ Cha Jehan.” We have read somewhere
else, that the king obliged himself to give
the Mogul's ambassador at his court infor-
mation of all the material resolutions of
his government. Manouchi, speaking of
the permission which SEVAGI requested,
says, that “ l'autorité d'Aurengzebe fit
“ consentir aisement le roi de Golconde
“ aux demandes du CEVAGI.”

N O T E XLII.

Page 86, line 13. *The want of cotemporary record has disabled us from acquiring any regular account of Sevagi's expedition into the Carnatic.*] This expedition, the most important of SEVAGI's life, had important consequences, which will appear hereafter, as well as we have been able to collect them. It is therefore more especially our wish, that enquiries may be made in India concerning the whole of this portion of the history of Coromandel, which operates even at this day in the events of that country. We have reason to believe, that

no cotemporary records of the company will be found either at Madrafs, Bombay, or Surat, which we have not discussed in England; but the informations they afford on this subject are very scanty.

Bombay writes to Surat, June 27th 1677.
“ * Mr. Child (from Carwar, where he
“ was chief of the factory) writes, that SE-
“ VAGI is in a castle of the king of Gol-
“ condah, where he intends to winter; and
“ after the rains, it is thought, intends
“ against the Carnatic. Several of the De-
“ can Omrahs are joined with him, and its
“ believed that Bullul Cawn and he have
“ agreed to share all between them. The
“ Decan country is so miserably harrassed,
“ that Mr. Child does not expect to pro-
“ vide † a piece of goods this year, and
“ we believe Carwar to be in little better
“ state. Morah Pundit has lately been to
“ visit the northern garrison of Salere, and
“ is now past by and gone to Rairee,
“ where we shall be sure to find him.”

* He was afterwards Sir John Child, governor of Bombay.

† See Note xxiv. page 21.

July

July 11, 1677. Again, “Sevagi at
 “present is a great way off in the Carnatic
 “country, *where he wintered*. In his ab-
 “sence, Morah Pundit and Anagi Pundit,
 “and another Bramin, are left to govern
 “affairs, to whom we have sent to pro-
 “cure their cowl (pafs) to all generals of
 “armies that shall come towards Surat,
 “that they molest not the English in any
 “part where they come, nor plunder any
 “of their goods.”

August 24th 1677. “SEVAGI is at pre-
 “sent in the Upper Carnatic, where he
 “has taken the strong castle of Chingy
 “(Gingee) Chingavore *, Pilcundah †,
 “and several others, and shamefully routed
 “the Moors ‡, and ’tis believed has robbed
 “Seringapatam §, and carried away great
 “riches from thence; and they say he
 “designs, on his return back, to take
 “Bridroor ||, and so join Canara to his
 “own conquests.”

* Unknown.

† Pilcundah, perhaps Volcondah.

‡ The troops of Viziapore.

§ Capital of Mysore.

|| Bidnoor.

Madrafs, in a letter dated September 1, 1677, which is not to be found, advise the company, that the nearness of SEVAGI engageth all their attention to fortify; they describe *his force and success*, and had received three messengers from him with letters. July 9, 1678, they say that little action hath passed between the armies of the king of GOLCONDAH and SEVAGI.

It is from a subsequent record nine years later, in 1687, that we find SEVAGI passed by Trivadi, where we suppose he paid his devotions, as all the Morattoe generals have done ever since, who have been near it. We have ventured to ascertain the outline of SEVAGI's conquests in the Carnatic by the indication of subsequent occurrences, of which none suggest that he entered the kingdom of TANJORE. It appears by Manouchi, that Sambagi accompanied his father into the Carnatic.

In our history of the national wars in India, we have supposed Velore to have been built by the Morattoes, having understood so when there; probably mistaking possession for foundation, from our ignorance

rance of SEVAGI's conquest; which must intirely overset that assertion, unless we should hereafter find that the Carnatic had been in more ancient times a Morattoo sovereignty; of which we have hitherto discovered no traces, excepting in the inaccurate talk of the people of the country.

N O T E XLIII.

Page 91, line 21. *We now resume the war which Aurengzebe had conducted in person against the Pitans beyond the Indus, where he arrived in the beginning of the year 1675.*] We have taken all we say, both before and now, concerning this war of the Pitans, from Manouchi: but have adjusted the few dates we give, (for he gives none) from the records of Surat and Bombay, which often received intelligence of the distant affairs of the empire, and sometimes mention them, but abstractedly, referring to the original letters in Persic, which we suppose are all lost now, as well as the translations, if any were made; even the dates of the intelligence are not recorded, but the mention ascertains the time of receipt,

receipt, and we have allowed for the journey.

We can have no expectation that an account of this war will ever be collected by any of our own nation, or other Europeans in India, all being, luckily for themselves, at too great a distance from the country of the Pitans; but it may have been compiled by some writer at Delhi, and it is not improbable that an account of it, either more or less explicit than Manouchi's, is at present in Europe. Mr. ANQUETIL DU PERRON, in his *Legislation Orientale*, gives an extraordinary instance of the benevolent justice of Aurengzebe to an old woman, who maintained her family by a mill, of which his soldiers had turned off the water: this happened in 1674, at Assenabad; which we suppose the Assenabdal of Manouchi on the Indus, when Aurengzebe was marching to this war of the Pitans. Mr. Anquetil du Perron cites the incident from a manuscript history of Indostan composed by Mr. Gentil, who served long with reputation in the French army in India; and with the languages acquired

acquired much knowledge of the country. We flatter ourselves that this work will be published. Every information concerning the Pitans and their country, will assist the history of the Sikes, the invasion of Nadir Shah, and the later invasions of the Afghans under their prince Abdalla.

N O T E XLIV.

Page 97, line 15. *Panwell, a large town on the river Penn.*] Panwell is not on the river Penn; but on another to the north of it, which opens due EAST from the middle of the island of Bombay; whereas the entrance of the river Penn is in the angle of the harbour, SOUTH-EAST of the island. The authority we followed is intitled to more than half the error; and this section of the Fragments was printed before we were set to rights by a plan of the march of the English army, in January 1778, from Bombay to attack POONAH, the capital of the Morattoes. This plan, besides the inland march, comprizes the harbour of Bombay and the island of Saicette. The army landed, and commenced
their

their first march from Panwell, which continued the deposit of their stores and provisions sent from Bombay. The plan was sent by Mr. R. H. Boddam, the chief of Surat, to his brother Mr. Charles Boddam, the director, and we were favoured with a copy of it by Mr. Dalrymple. It not only ascertains the real situation of PANWELL, but likewise of ABITA, which soon occurs in our narrative; but it gives no indication concerning the river of *Negotan*, which is often mentioned in the ancient records we have considered, and in the first conquest of the Portugueze, in 1536, when they took Bassein and Tannah. Mr. D'Anville has inserted the river *Negotan* in a situation, where we do not see how it can exist; nevertheless we have given his position in our map, as a help to combinations which may tend to remove the obscurity.

N O T E XLV.

Page 101, line 6. *Of his* (Aurengzebe's) brothers, *Darab* had written a treatise, endeavouring

*endeavouring to reconcile the doctrines of Bra-
mah with the tenets of the Alcoran.*] This
treatise was brought to England by Mr.
FRAZER, and is in the Radcliffe library,
under the following title, as given by
Mr. Frazer. “ MUJMAH AL BARHAIN
“ (*i. e.* the uniting of both seas.) A trea-
“ tise wrote by *Sultan Darah Shekowh*,
“ eldest brother to *Auring-zebe*; in which
“ he endeavours to reconcile the *Brahmins*
“ religion with the *Mahommedan*; citing
“ passages from the *Koran* to prove the
“ several points. It was his writing this
“ book, and conversing so much with the
“ *Bramins*, that chiefly lost him the em-
“ pire; for *Aurengzebe* made a pretence
“ of that, and consequently had all the
“ bigoted Mahomedans to join him.”

We learn from Mr. Anquetil du Perron,
that “ *Sultan Darah*, in 1656, likewise
“ caused a Persian translation to be made
“ by the Bramins of Benaras, of the *OUR-
“ NEKAT*, a work in the Sanscrit language,
“ of which the title signifies “ the word
“ that is not to be said;” meaning, the
“ secret that is not to be revealed. This
“ work is an extract of the *FOUR VEDES*
N (Bedes)

“ (Bedes) and gives in fifty-one sections
 “ the complete system of the Hindoo theo-
 “ logy ; which establissheth the unity of
 “ the First Being ; whose perfections and
 “ operations personified, become the names
 “ of the principal divinities of the Hin-
 “ doos ; and demonstrates the re-union of
 “ all nature to this FIRST CAUSE, the
 “ DEITY.” Of this curious work, Mr.
 Anquetil has promised to publish a trans-
 lation.

Mr. Bernier says, that in the last coun-
 cil held by Aurengzebe concerning the
 fate of Darah, an Omrah insisted on the
 necessity of his death, because he had long
 quitted the religion of Mahomed, and was
 become a coffre, a pagan, and an ido-
 later. He was accordingly put to death ;
 for which Aurengzebe made the same apo-
 logy to Sultan Shekow, the son of Darah,
 whom he assured of safety, but destroyed by
 the poppy draught at Gualior.

N O T E XLVI.

Page 101, line 19. *He (Aurengzebe) de-
 termined to enforce the conversion of the Hin-
 doos throughout the empire, by the severest pe-
 nalties.]*

nalties.] DE GRAAF, when at Hughly in Bengal, in the year 1670, says, “ Au
 “ mois de Janvier tous les *gouverneurs*
 “ & *officiers maures* recurent ordre du
 “ *Grand Mogul d'empêcher l'exercice de la*
 “ *religion payenne dans tout le pays, & de*
 “ *faire murer tous les temples ou pagodes des*
 “ *idolâtres.* On diminua en meme temps
 “ les taxes des marchands *Mahomedans*
 “ & on augmenta celles des *idolâtres* dans
 “ l'esperance que quelques Payens em-
 “ brasseroient la religion *Mahomedanne.*
 “ Et pour mieux faire paroître sa pieté,
 “ l'empereur envoya a la Mecque une
 “ tres grosse somme d'argent a l'honneur
 “ de son grand prophete Mahomed. Il
 “ depecha aussi des ordres pour defendre
 “ tous les lieux publics de debauché; mais
 “ pour lui il n'observoit pas ces ordres
 “ dans son palais.” In 1674, he forbid the
 use of cochineal in the dying of garments,
 as too splendid a colour for the sanctity of
 a Mahomedan.

N O T E XLVII.

Page 102, line 5. *An old woman led a
 multitude in arms.*] This story is told by

Manouchi, as well as by Dow, but with different circumstances.

N O T E XLVIII.

Page 102, line 24. *Abnir, Chitore, and Joudpore are the three great rajahships of Indostan.*] The standing force, and revenue of these princes in 1770, were reputed,

Of ABNIR, 20,000 horse and 18,000 foot; revenue 14 millions of rupees.

Of JOUDPORE, which is more commonly called the Rajah of MARVAR, 30,000 horse; his revenues above 10 millions of rupees.

Of CHITORE, 20,000 horse and 10,000 foot; his revenues likewise are computed at 10 millions of rupees.

We have this note from Mr. T. C. BOUGHTON ROUS; and hope that the late expedition from Bengal into the province of Malva, will have acquired ample information concerning the language, geography, and ancient history of these countries; for such an opportunity will not soon occur again.

N O T E XLIX.

Page 105, line 6. *The Rajah Jesswant Sing died in the beginning of the year 1678.*] He had written the following letter to Aurangzebe.

“ All due praise be rendered to the
“ glory of the Almighty, and the mun-
“ nificence of your majesty, which is
“ conspicuous as the sun and moon.
“ Although I, your well-wisher, have
“ separated myself from your sublime
“ presence, I am nevertheless zealous in
“ the performance of every bounden act
“ of obedience and loyalty. My ardent
“ wishes and strenuous services are em-
“ ployed to promote the prosperity of
“ the Kings, Nobles, Mirzas, Rajahs,
“ and Roys of the provinces of Hin-
“ dostan, and the chiefs of Æraun, Tu-
“ raun, Room, and Shawn, the inha-
“ bitants of the seven climates, and all
“ persons travelling by land and by water.
“ This my inclination is notorious, nor
“ can your royal wisdom entertain a
“ doubt

“doubt thereof. Reflecting therefore on
 “my former services, and your majesty’s
 “condescension, I presume to solicit the
 “royal attention to some circumstances,
 “in which the public as well as private
 “welfare is greatly interested.

“I have been informed, that enormous
 “sums have been dissipated in the profe-
 “cution of the designs formed against me,
 “your well-wisher; and that you have
 “ordered a tribute to be levied to satisfy
 “the exigences of your exhausted trea-
 “sury.

“May it please your majesty, your
 “royal ancestor Mahomed Jelaul ul
 “Deen Akbar, whose throne is now
 “in heaven, conducted the affairs of
 “this empire in equity and firm secu-
 “rity for the space of fifty-two years,
 “preserving every tribe of men in ease
 “and happiness: whether they were fol-
 “lowers of Jesus, or of Moses, or David;
 “or Mahomed; were they Bramins,
 “were they of the sect of DHARIANS,
 “which denies the eternity of matter,
 “or of that which ascribes the existence
 “of the world to chance, they all equally
 “enjoyed

“ enjoyed his countenance and favour;
“ infomuch that his people, in gratitude
“ for the indiscriminate protection he af-
“ forded them, distinguished him by the
“ appellation of Juggut Grow (Guardian
“ of Mankind).

“ His majesty Mahomed Noor ul Deen
“ Jehangheer, likewise, whose dwelling
“ is now in paradise, extended for a pe-
“ riod of twenty-two years, the shadow
“ of his protection over the heads of his
“ people; successful by a constant fidelity
“ to his allies, and a vigorous exertion of
“ his arm in business.

“ Nor less did the illustrious Sháh Je-
“ hân, by a propitious reign of thirty-
“ two years, acquire to himself immortal
“ reputation, the glorious reward of cle-
“ mency and virtue.

“ Such were the benevolent inclina-
“ tions of your ancestors. Whilst they
“ pursued these great and generous prin-
“ ciples, wheresoever they directed their
“ steps, conquest and prosperity went
“ before them; and then they reduced
“ many countries and fortresses to their
“ obedience. During your majesty's
“ reign,

“ reign, many have been alienated from
“ the empire, and farther loss of ter-
“ ritory must necessarily follow, since
“ devastation and rapine now universally
“ prevail without restraint. Your sub-
“ jects are trampled under foot, and every
“ province of your empire is impove-
“ rished ; depopulation spreads, and dif-
“ ficulties accumulate. When indigence
“ has reached the habitation of the so-
“ vereign and his princes, what can be
“ the condition of the nobles ? As to the
“ soldiery, they are in murmurs ; the
“ merchants complaining, the Mahome-
“ dans discontented, the Hindoos desti-
“ tute, and multitudes of people, wretched
“ even to the want of their nightly
“ meal, are beating their heads through-
“ out the day in rage and despera-
“ tion.

“ How can the dignity of the sovereign
“ be preserved, who employs his power
“ in exacting heavy tributes from a peo-
“ ple thus miserably reduced ? At this
“ juncture it is told from east to west,
“ that the emperor of Hindostan, jealous
“ of the poor Hindoo devotee, will exact
“ a tri-

“ a tribute from Bramins, Sanorahs, Jog-
“ hies, Berawghies, Sonassees ; that, re-
“ gardless of the illustrious honour of
“ his Timurean race, he condescends to
“ exercise his power over the solitary in-
“ offensive anchoret. If your majesty
“ places any faith in those books, by
“ distinction called divine, you will there
“ be instructed, that God is the God of
“ all mankind, not the God of Maho-
“ medans alone. The Pagan and the
“ Mussulman are equally in his pre-
“ sence. Distinctions of colour are of
“ his ordination. It is he who gives ex-
“ istence. In your temples, to his name
“ the voice is raised in prayer ; in a
“ house of images, where the bell is
“ shaken, still he is the object of ado-
“ ration. To vilify the religion or customs
“ of other men, is to set at naught the
“ pleasure of the Almighty. When we
“ deface a picture, we naturally incur
“ the resentment of the painter ; and
“ justly has the poet said, Presume not
“ to arraign or scrutinize the various
“ works of power divine.

“ In fine, the tribute you demand from

“ the Hindoos is repugnant to justice :
“ it is equally foreign from good policy,
“ as it must impoverish the country :
“ moreover, it is an innovation and an
“ infringement of the laws of Hindostan.
“ But if zeal for your own religion hath
“ induced you to determine upon this
“ measure, the demand ought, by the
“ rules of equity to have been made first
“ upon RAMSING, who is esteemed the
“ principal amongst the Hindoos. Then
“ let your well-wisher be called upon,
“ with whom you will have less difficulty
“ to encounter; but to torment ants and
“ flies is unworthy of an heroic or gene-
“ rous mind. It is wonderful that the
“ ministers of your government should
“ have neglected to instruct your majesty
“ in the rules of rectitude and honour.”

The elegant translation of this letter was made and given to us by Mr. T. C. Boughton Rouse.

N O T E L.

Page 109, line 25. *The island of Kenary.*]
We have extracted all we say of the dispute, which ensued for this and the adjacent.

cent island of Kenary, from the daily correspondence between the council of Bombay, and their cruizers on this service.

N O T E L I.

Page 118, line 19. *Dongong, where the English had factors, Chupra, and other great marts, were again plunaged, and Brampore shut its gates.*] *Dongong* is likewise spelt in the records, *Dorongom*, and *Drongom*. *Gong* means a town, and occurs frequently in the geography of Candish and Aurengabad, and still more in the Morattoo country. We find that the English presidency at Surat, established a factory at *Drongom* in April 1674; but their correspondence does not ascertain the situation of the place; which appears to have been under the jurisdiction of *Aurengabad*; for on some injury which the factory had received from the Phousdar of the district (it was towards the end of 1682) the presidency procured a letter from the governor of Surat to the Duan at Aurengabad, to redress the grievance. The factors say, that *Drongom* is 130 coss from *Surat*; the

road was by *Saler Moler* and *Nourdabar*; whereabouts a caphila of the company's goods coming from Drongom was plundered in January 1681, by a troop of banditti, who were not Morattoes.

Mr. D'Anville, following Thieyenot, in his route from Brampore to Bider and Golcondah, gives a *Deulgong*, to the east of Brampore and Aurengabad, nearly equally distant from both. And its distance from Surat agrees nearly with the 130 cofs given by the factors. We find this place in our MSS. of the Decan, under the province of BERAR, as the head of a purgunnah or district, in the government or circar of *Mekker*.

A *Dongom* arises in the marches of Mr. Buffy, between Aurengabad and Golcondah; but its distance from Surat is too great not to prefer the other: this Dongom is not mentioned in our MSS. of the Decan, under the subahs, either of Aurengabad, Bider, or Golcondah; to one of which it must belong.

The investment provided for the company at Drongom, in 1683, was,
10,000 pieces of broad bastaes.

10,000

10,000 pieces of Sevaguzzees.
2,500 maunds (100,000 lbs.) of Tur-
merick.

N O T E LII.

Page 121, line 18.] *Amongst others, they sacked Huttany, a very considerable mart.]* Huttany is mentioned as such, not only by Fryer, but likewise in the records of the English factory at Carwar, which had continual dealings there; nevertheless, if at that time, it has not of late years been the head of a purgunnah or district, because the name does not occur in our MSS. of the Decan. Mr. D'ANVILLE has placed a town called *Atteni*, forty miles WEST of Viziapore, and twenty EAST of Raibague; but this is too near the capital to have been maintained for any time, although it might have formerly been plundered, by Sevagi. We have inserted the *Atteni* of Mr. D'Anville into our map.

N O T E LIII.

Page 125, line 19. *His (Sevagi's) disorder, although encreasing every day, was kept*

kept secret within his palace of Raigee; and if it had been published, would not have been believed, since he had more than once sent abroad reports of his death, at the very time he was setting out on some signal excursion.]

Page 126, line 13. *He expired on the 3d of April 1680, and in the fifty-second year of his age.]* BOMBAY, on the 28th of April 1680, write to the presidency of Surat, “ We have certain news that SEVAGEE
“ RAJAH is dead; it is now twenty-three
“ days since he deceased, ’tis said of a
“ bloody flux, being sick twelve days.
“ How affairs go in his country, we shall
“ advise as comes to our knowledge; at
“ present all is quiet, and Sambagee Rajah
“ is at Parnella.” The purport of another letter from Bombay to Surat, which is dated the 3d of May 1680, likewise confirms the death of Sevagi.

SURAT, answering, on the 7th of May, to the letter from Bombay of the 28th April, say, “ SEVAGEE’S death is confirmed from all places; yet some are
“ still under a doubt of the truth, such
“ reports having been used to run of him before some considerable attempt; therefore
“ shall

“ shall not be too confident until better
 “ assured.” The next letter from Surat
 is of the 18th of May, in which they ex-
 press no farther doubt of his death; and
 two English factors, who had been sent to
 Rajapore in order to receive the balance
 of account allowed by Sevagi to the com-
 pany, write on the 22d of June to Bom-
 bay, that they were disappointed by the
 arrival of a new subadar or governor, who
 declared that he should pay nothing with-
 out the express orders of SAMBAGEE; on
 which the factors sent a messenger to Sam-
 bagee; who was certainly at Pannala, and
 answered, that he should examine the ac-
 counts, but was at that time employed in
 other affairs.

The agency of *Bengal*, in answer to the
 advices they had received from Bombay of
 SEVAGI's death, write on the 13th of
 December 1680, “ SEVAGI has died so
 “ often, that some begin to think him in-
 “ mortal. 'Tis certain, little belief can
 “ be given to any report of his death,
 “ until experience tell the waining of his
 “ hitherto prosperous affairs; since when
 “ he dies *indeed*, it is thought he has none
 “ to,

“ to leave behind him that is capacitated
 “ to carry on things at the rate and for-
 “ tune he has all along done.”

The dates we have quoted from Bombay, Surat, and Rajapore, incontestably prove, that Mr. Fryer is mistaken in saying, SEVAGI died on the 1st of June 1680; but as Mr. Fryer did not digest his letters for publication until twenty years after their date, his memory might easily fail in correcting the error of his memorandum. But Catrou, although guided by MANOUCHI, (who says more of Sevagi than all the other writers, and particularizes the cause of his death) simply says, that he died in 1679: from which we conclude, that Catrou did not find the particular date in Manouchi's manuscript, and gave it generally from a conjecture of his own.

N O T E LIV.

Page 126, line 19. *Attendants, animals, and wives were burnt with his corpse.*] We have these circumstances of Sevagi's funeral from Mr. Fryer; from whom we likewise learn, that Sevagi, during Mr. Oxenden's

den's embassy in 1674, married his fourth wife; but the mother of his son Ramrajah was exempted from his funeral pile, and so would Sambagi's, if she had been alive, as having both passed the term of beauty, which seems alone to be consecrated to this cruel penalty, and almost revokes the respect which contemplation cannot refuse to the gentle manners of the Hindoos in all other observances.

The Bramins always preside and officiate in these sacrifices; and with more zeal than in any other of their priestly functions, excepting when they sacrifice themselves to save the temple of their religion.

The jesuits in JARRIC say, that three hundred and seventy-five women burnt with the NAIGUE of Tanjore, who died in 1602; which we suppose to be the honest but enthusiastic credulity of missionaries lamenting the infernal state of the heathens they wished to convert.

If the princes of the Hindoos, who alone could have suppressed, have encouraged these deathful rites, by suffering the profusion devoted to their own obsequies; they themselves are obliged to surrender

even an infant daughter, if betrothed, to the immolation, when called for by the manes of a husband.

N O T E LV.

Page 129, line 1. *Broods were raised of the most approved.*] The horses bred in India, although naturally more vicious than those of Arabia, Persia, and Tartary, are, like them, preserved intire. It is rare that any of race or value have been seen by the European travellers at open pasture; which in Coromandel is too arid, and in Bengal too rank, to give them size and vigour; nevertheless a few are seen straggling in every part of these countries, but so diminutive and naught, that no one owns them, and they may be taken up for the fee of a few pence to the Zemindar: and there is a breed at COLAR, west of VELORE, which, although restive, and not hardy, serve for the wretched cavalry of the neighbouring polygars. It is worth the enquiry to know in what parts of India the good horses are bred, together with the properties of the soil, and the care of the breeder.

A race

A race which have height and agility, are bred on the river KUTCH, another stronger on the INDUS, but in what part we have not yet discovered.

Mr. Fryer says, that SEVAGI stabled his choicest horses at DECIR, at the foot of the gaut going to Jenneah, “ for the convenience of this plain to supply them with hay and corn, which causeth them to have the greater force.” By corn we suppose he means rice. M. Anquetil du Perron, in his journey from Surat to Bassain, saw near *Naucari* “ des paturages garnies de chevaux.” We have found no other mentions of *stables* or horse pastures in the Moratta country. Where are the rest?

N O T E LVI.

Page 132, line 7. *In personal activity he exceeded all generals of whom there is record.*]

Mr. FRYER says, that he even wished to command his fleet in person, and tried the element; but his constitution could not overcome the nausea.

N O T E LVII.

Page 133, line. *This state comprized, on the western side of India, all the coast, with the back country of the hills, from Mirzeou to Versal, excepting the small territory of Goa to the south; Bombay, Salcette, and the Portuguese country between Baceen and Damaun, to the north.]* Thus SEVAGI had reduced the whole tract of the sea-coast, which had been subject to the kingdom of Viziapore, and, according to BALDÆUS, who was in India from 1655 to 1666, extended from the river Mirzeou to Dando. Dando lies between Agacim and Daman; from whence to Versal, thirty miles, we suppose belonged either to the Moguls, or to independent Rajahs.

N O T E LVIII.

Page 134, line 8. *The whole (of SEVAGI's dominion to the west) may be esteemed four hundred miles in length, and one hundred and twenty in breadth.]* To save doubt, and the trouble of comparison, we shall observe, that this extent differs from what is given
in

in NOTE XXV; because there we are computing what we suppose to have been the original country of the Morattoes, but here, the territory which SEVAGI had reduced under his own sovereignty.

N O T E LIX.

Page 142, line 1. ACBAR.] BERNIER says, that Aurengzebe (in the year 1664) “ summoned his privy council, and the “ most learned persons of his court, to decide on the new preceptor he should give “ to his third son ACBAR, whom he *intends* “ to be his successor.” Acbar was at this time about seven years of age; and we find by other accounts, that this preference arose from Acbar being the son of a Mahomedan mother, the daughter of Shahnavaize Khan, who, as one of the Sophy family, was descended from Mahomed, by his daughter married to Ali; whereas the Sultans Mauzum and Azim were born of the daughters of Rajpoot princes. We are ignorant how long the preference of Acbar continued, but it had ceased sometime before the commencement of the war against the

the Rajpoots Rajahs; and probably from the concurrence of several causes. Sultan Mauzum had manifested abilities, courage, and on all occasions implicit obedience; and in these qualities even Sultan Azim exceeded Acbar; who, naturally wayward and arrogant, assumed the succession to the throne as a right, instead of an undue predilection in his favour; which diminished still more after the birth of Caun Buksh, whom Aurengzebe cherished with the utmost tenderness, as the son of his old age, and of his favourite wife Udeperri, who governed him in all concerns relating to his family; and from this time Aurengzebe no longer held out Sultan Acbar as the general heir of the empire; whom this change in his expectations exasperated to the revolt we are relating.

N O T E LX.

Page 143, line 12. *This day was the 11th (read the 9th) of January 1681.* We have taken this date from Manouchi, one of the very few he gives; although it barely allows time for what passed within the limit

mit of another date, of which there can be no doubt.

N O T E LXI.

Page 144, line ult. *The pavilions of Aurengzebe.*] Which are described by MANOUCHI as compartments of wood; but Bernier, who went on the journey to Cashmire in 1664, describes the field equipage of Aurengzebe at that time, as consisting of tents.

N O T E LXII.

Page 145, line 23. *Acbar put his treasure, with his infant son and daughter, and the females of his family, on his elephants and camels.*

Page 146, line 7. *But Acbar only accepted the service of 500 Rajpoots, and the protection of the state to his children.*]

Neither Manouchi, who we believe was at this time in the army of Sultan MAUZUM; nor OVINGTON and HAMILTON, who were at Surat in 1690, and speak of this revolt, make any mention of Sultan Acbar's

bar's children : they appear in the Surat records of the year 1693, and explain a point of history, left in great obscurity by all the accounts we have seen of the accession of the emperor Mahomed Shah, in 1718.

N O T E LXIII.

Page 148, line 3, and 5. *Acbar* —
arrived on the first of June (1681) at Paw-
lee Gur, a fort and town at the foot of the
Gauts, a day's journey from the shore op-
posite to Bombay.] BOMBAY writes to Su-
rat on the 10th of June 1781, " There
" has been a flying report here for some
" days, that SULTAN ECBAR is come down
" into Sambagee's country, and two days
" ago came over hither from the main a
" Moor inhabitant of our island, who says
" he saw him at a place called Paulee,
" about a day's journey from Negotan,
" where he is with about 400 horse and
" 250 camels, and some small number of
" foot ; being all that is with him : that
" he is saluted as KING : at his entrance
" into the Rajah's dominions, was met
" by

“ by several of his grandees by his order,
 “ and conducted to the aforesaid place,
 “ where it is said the Rajah is daily ex-
 “ pected to wait on him. We intend a
 “ man over to the main, who shall go where
 “ he is, and learn what he can, and then
 “ shall give you a full account of all. It’s
 “ said that the RANAH *, and SAMBAGEE
 “ RAJAH intend to join their forces, and
 “ endeavour to set SULTAN ECBAR in his
 “ father’s kingdom †.”

Again, Bombay, on the 21st of June,
 writes to Surat; “ Our last was of the 10th
 “ instant, sent by the Carwar expresses.
 “ We then wrote you of SULTAN ECBAR’s
 “ being at a place called *Pawlee*, near *Ne-*
 “ *gotan*, and of our intentions to send a
 “ man thither to enquire into the truth
 “ of it, and learn what might be farther
 “ worthy your knowledge. The man we
 “ sent returned to us last night, and brings
 “ us this account. The SULTAN is really
 “ there; he is a white man of middle sta-

* We suppose, of Chitore.

† A mistake, we suppose, for throne.

“ ture, of about 25 years * of age : he is
“ lodged in a large house covered with
“ straw, at the foot of Pawlee Gur : it
“ has tallah walls ; but since his being
“ there, are pulled down ; it is lined with-
“ in with white callico, and spread with
“ ordinary carpets : he sits open : with
“ him of any note is but one man, called
“ Drugdas, a *Rashpoot* of the RANAH's,
“ in great esteem with his master ; about
“ 500 horse, and but 50 camels ; a small
“ parcel of foot : they are all lodged near
“ about the SULTAN, and are most *Rash-*
“ *poots*, very few *Moors*. Without them
“ is quite round placed about 300 foot,
“ Sambagee Rajah's men, who keep guard :
“ all the Subedars near about are there to
“ wait on him ; and about four days ago
“ came from Sambagee Rajah to him, one
“ Hargee Pharsang, a person of great
“ quality and esteem ; he brought with
“ him a letter from his master, and
“ a present that was laid down at the
“ SULTAN's feet ; 1000 pagodas, a large
“ string of great pearl, hanging to it a

* See NOTE LIX. concerning Achar's age.

“ rich jewel set with a very large diamond,
“ and a large jewel of diamonds for the
“ head, with many pieces of rich India and
“ Persia stuffs : the 1000 pagodas the next
“ day he divided amongst his men : all
“ the respect imaginable is paid him ; and
“ provisions for himself, horse, and men,
“ is daily brought in by the several Sube-
“ dars, being SAMBAGEE RAJAH’s orders ;
“ who himself waits for a good day to set
“ out of *Pernella* † towards the Sultan,
“ which, it is talked, will be in a few days
“ more ; and that he will wait on the Sul-
“ tan standing, and not sit in his presence ;
“ for the Sultan permits none to sit in his
“ presence, and all that come to him sa-
“ lute him as KING. He is in want of
“ money, but hath with him jewels of
“ great value. It is in every body’s mouth
“ on the main, that the RANAH and SAM-
“ BAGEE RAJAH, &c. Rajahs, do resolve
“ to join all their forces, and endeavour
“ to make him KING : and this is all we
“ have concerning him.”

† Pannala.

N O T E LXIV.

Page 149, line 24. RAMRAJAH *was sent to reside in one of the forts of the Carnatic.*] We have not yet been able to discover in what fort: but suppose the knowledge might easily be obtained at Madras; although with more difficulty, what is of more concern, the circumstances of his life, during the nine ensuing years.

N O T E LXV.

Page 168, line 11. *In this year, 1682, the English company's factors were expelled from Bantam in the island of Java.*] The murderous business of Amboyna in 1624, with the later expulsion of the English from Macassar in 1670, and now from BANTAM, with the inevitable fall of their distant factories under this agency, gave the DUTCH, who likewise held the coasts of CEYLON, the exclusive possession of the four rich spices, with the greatest share of the pepper, produced in the East Indies; and this monopoly had been so evidently the object of their policy, from the first
outlets

outlets of their trade to India, that the revolution of Bantam was imputed, even before examination, by all except themselves, to the prosecution of the same design. The discussion soon followed. Mr. Chidlie, the English envoy, delivered a memorial to the States General in April 1683, and was assisted by Sir John Chardin, the traveller, deputed by the East India company. But at the end of the year, the company prepared 22 ships, and avowed their intention of reinstating themselves in Bantam by force of arms; on which the STATES broke off the negotiation; and in March 1684, the king, CHARLES the 2d, stopped the armament, ready to sail, and ordered the negotiation to be resumed by his ministers; when, after many delays, it was agreed that 4 commissioners should be named by each of the companies, who were to prefer their demands and objections to a board of decisors, consisting of 8 members, 4 appointed by the king, and 4 by the states. The English decisors were the Lords Sunderland, Clarendon, Rochester, and Middleton.

ton. The Dutch were likewise of high rank*; and 4 directors of their company † were opposed to Sir Joseph Ashe the governor, Sir Josiah Child the deputy-governor, Sir John Bathurst and Sir Jeremy Sambrooke, directors of the English company. The process was held in London, to which the Dutch directors and decisors repaired. The allegations and testimonies were all preferred in writing; and the first was delivered by the Dutch directors on the 27th of May, 1685; but after 16 answers and replies, besides much more in proofs and arguments, nothing was decided in January 1686; when, from the cessation of the pleas, we suppose the

* Lord Anth. Heinsius, councillor and pensionary of the city of Delf; John Goes, lord of Abamade, consul of the city of Leyden; Isaac Vanden Heuvel, councillor; Adrigan de Borssele Vander Hoge, senator of the supreme court of Holland.

† The Heer Gerrard Hooft of the council of Amsterdam; Jacob Van Hoorn of the council of Flushing; Solomon Van de Blocquerii, and Adrian Paets, of the council of Rotterdam.

Dutch

Dutch representatives returned to Holland; where we find the negotiation renewed by the Marquis D'Abbeville in August 1687, with additional complaints of new violences committed at *Gombroon*, *Metchlepatam*, and on the Malabar coast. But still no reparation was made; and probably no longer urged by the councils of England, agitating with the Dutch a REVOLUTION of very different import.

The pleas of the two companies appear in two publications. The one intitled, "A justification of the directors of the Netherlands company, as delivered to the States General the 22d of July 1686, touching the affair of *Bantam*, and other controversies at *Macassar*, and on the coast of *Malabar*, and at *Gamron*; with a justification in answer to several memorials lately given to the States General by the Marquis of Abbeville, touching *Maslipatam* and other parts of *India*."

The whole factum is dated the 4th of October 1687, and was translated into French, and miserable English. It is a dull and conceited performance; and was answered by "An impartial VINDICATION

" of

“ of the English East India company from
“ the unjust and slanderous imputations
“ cast upon them in a treatise, intitled,
“ A justification of the directors of the
“ Netherlands East India company, &c.”
London, 1678. The Dutch treatise was
annexed to the English vindication *; in
which are several positions, which, without
his name, sufficiently indicate the know-
ledge and good sense of Sir Josiah Child,
whose opinions † concerning the commerce
of India, although continually clamoured
against, have not been confuted by the ex-
perience of a century.

The Dutch company denied the accusa-
tion of having instigated the young king
to expel the English from BANTAM, and
insisted that it proceeded naturally from his
resentment of the assistance, which the En-
glish had given his father, when besieging
him, until routed by the Dutch forces

* Both were printed together, London, 1678,
octavo.

† Published in a treatise intitled, The East
India trade a most profitable trade to the nation.
London, 1677, quarto.

from Batavia. It was impossible at that time to prove the instigation by positive witnesses or documents; but the consequences left no doubt; for they got both kings into their power, confined the father, and kept the young king in subjection under their own guards, allowing him indeed a maintenance, with some representation, but obliging him to authenticate whatsoever regulations they thought proper to make in the government. The whole kingdom of Bantam was sensible of this condition, even whilst the commissaries were disputing in London, as appears by the relation which father TACHARD the jesuit has published of the embassy sent by LOUIS the xivth to the king of SIAM. The two ships which escorted Monsieur de Chaumont *, put into Bantam in August 1685, and were denied all communication with the shore; but acquired sufficient knowledge to ascribe the revolution to the same arts and motives as were alledged at this very time by the directors of the English company in London. The Che-

* The embassiator.

valier FORBIN, in his ingenuous memoirs of his own life, agrees with father Tachard on this subject, although on no other concerning the splendid and nonsensical embassy in which they were employed.

Nothing is said of the military operations of the revolution, either by Forbin or Tachard; and very little by either of the two companies; but they are amply, although not distinctly, related by FRYKE * the surgeon, who served through the war, and continued at Bantam 18 months after it ended. An army of 3,000 Europeans and 5,000 natives marched by land from Batavia, fighting their way, and opposed by fortresses; whilst 22 ships, with many small

* FRYKE failed for Batavia in May 1680, and returned to Holland in August 1685; his voyage is translated, and published in London, 1700 (octavo) together with SCHEWITZER's, who went from Holland in the beginning of 1675, and returned in August 1682. We particularize the terms which the different writers we mention continued abroad, that such of our readers who wish to investigate any portions of the history of India, may know where to seek cotemporary authorities.

vessels,

vessels, co-operated from the sea: but the credit of FRYKE's relation is much impaired by his exaggerations of the slaughter; for, according to his account, not less than 40,000 Javans were slain in the different fights and engagements; of the Europeans with the Dutch only 500.

Fryke has expressed his opinion of this revolution with much simplicity. After the war, "the Javans," he says, "could hardly bear the Hollanders for a great while; and truly their antipathy against us was not wholly without some grounds; seeing that we, being foreigners, had invaded their territories, and taken possession of all they had, and then lorded it over them. They being a very silly sort of people, had no other way to shew their spight and resentment, than by making mouths at the Dutch as they passed by, and sometimes spitting upon them—of which they were cured by a good box on the ear."

"Admiral TACK was all this while lodged in the apartment which before belonged to the ENGLISH, where the young king used to come and visit him

“ almost every day, and maintained a
 “ faithful friendship with him. In a
 “ little time, things being settled, a pro-
 “ posal was made to the young king by
 “ the Dutch, that if he would resign in-
 “ tirely all claim of power and jurisdiction
 “ over his people, custom, &c. they would
 “ allow him such a sum as would enable
 “ him to keep up his grandeur, and live
 “ like a king (a titular one, that is) and
 “ would be obliged to pay him some thou-
 “ sands of gilders every month. To this
 “ he condescended, whether through fear
 “ or indifference, I cannot well say; and
 “ a certain pension was likewise settled
 “ upon his two young princes: all which
 “ was paid according to agreement. The
 “ rest of the nobility and chief of the
 “ land, remained in possession of their
 “ goods and lands as before, only that
 “ they were now subject to the Dutch
 “ government. Thus the Dutch com-
 “ passed their whole design by force and
 “ policy, and by fair means became masters
 “ of that kingdom, which was and had
 “ been so long flourishing, and famous for
 “ its vast trade and traffic; and that in
 “ so

“ so little time as from 1682 to 1685.
 “ That I believe history will hardly afford
 “ an instance of a more sudden change of
 “ affairs in so great a kingdom.”

Fryke, although a german, had no prejudices against the Dutch company, but frequently admires the policy and regularity of their government.

The armament which the English company prepared to recover Bantam, enabled them afterwards to engage in other wars.

Factors were left at Bantam by sir James Lancaster in the first voyage made on the company's account to the East Indies : he sailed from Bantam, on his return to England, in February 1603*. But the regular factory, which continued until the expulsion under notice, was established by captain Keeling, in 1609 †.

N O T E LXVI.

Page 184, line 10. *Chaeß Khan.*] We find, in a Bengal record of the year 1687,

* Purchas, in his *PILGRIMS*, vol. i. page 162.

† Idem, page 204.

that

that he came into the province as nabob, in the year 1666: he kept his court at Dacca, and by other injustices provoked the war of Job Chanock.

N O T E LXVII.

Page 195, line 8. *Charles the second.*] This ship was the admiral of the fleet intended against Bantam.

N O T E LXVIII.

Page 201, line 19. *To make their ablutions at Nassir Turmeck.*] Read Nassick Tirmeck. According to our MSS. of the DECAN, TIRMECK is a *purgunnah* or district of SANGAMNER, which is one of the CIRCARS or governments of the SUBAH or province of AURENGABAD. “ The river “ *GUNGAH* comes from the mountains of “ Concan, on which Tirmeck is built, “ and passeth through the middle of the “ *circar* of Sangamner, to Goulchonabad, “ commonly called Nassick; the distance “ 20 coss; below which the bed of the ri-

“ ver becomes much broader. Numbers
 “ of Hindoos resort every year from the
 “ most distant parts, to wash at Tirmeck
 “ on the day that the sun enters the scor-
 “ pion. Every twelfth year the multitude
 “ is much greater, and some come on
 “ every day in every year. The tax le-
 “ vied on these pilgrims amounts to a great
 “ sum, and belongs to the killidar, or go-
 “ vernor, of the fort of Tirmeck. The
 “ Hindoos prefer this place for their puri-
 “ fications, because the Gunga has its
 “ source here. In the rock out of which
 “ it springs, has been fashioned the head
 “ of a cow.” The same has been said
 by Tamerlane’s historian, of the rock of
 Toglipoor, where the great Ganges enters
 Indostan.

N O T E LXIX.

Page 203, line 15. *Gocuck, Hubely, and
 several other towns of note, surrendered with-
 out resistance; and the stronger fortress of Dar-
 war with little. From hence he (Sultan Mau-
 zum) advanced 30 miles farther to Guduck,
 which is 60 from Viziapore.] We speak
 from*

from the letters of the time, written by the English factory at Carwar to the presidency of Surat. Hubely is ascertained in note XXIII, page LI; and we find GOCUCK, DARWAR, and GUDUCK in our MSS. of the Decan, under the kingdom of Viziapore, in which Bancapore is rated as a circar or government. It saith,

“ CIRCAR OF BANKAPOUR

“ Contains 16 purgunnahs : the adjacent
“ cies of *Bankapore*, *Karoli*, *Lakmir*, *Ka-*
“ *miran*, *Goundkoul*, *Raimouli*, *Nerengal*,
“ *Ramali*, *Angal*, *Nasurabad*, or *DARVAR*,
“ *Aribara*, *Mahapour*, *Basserikankona*, *GU-*
“ *DUCK*, *Tatimal*, *Mareli*.

“ To the east, the woods which the
“ *Tombadra* separates from the country of
“ *Sera*; to the north, the *purgunnahs* of
“ *Moudgal* and *Nourgal*; to the west,
“ *Azamnagar*; to the south, the circar of
“ *Mahammadnagar*, through which pass-
“ eth the river *Vardah*.”

We do not find *Moudgal* either as a purgunnah, or circar of Viziapore, and suppose the word an error of the copyist; but *Nourgal* is a circar of Viziapore, and, as well

well as part of Azemnagur, stretcheth to the north of Bāncapour, dividing this from the circar of Raibaugue; and under Azemnagur we find GOCUCK, as a circar, of which the town in question is the head place.

N O T E LXX.

Page 205, line 17. *In October (1685) he sent off a body of 6000 horse from Rairee, which crossed the Tapti and Nerbeddah, and assaulted the city of Broach, within a few hours after their approach was known.]* We have this from the English factors in the town, writing in the hour of alarm to the presidency of Surat.

The territory of BROACH was well able to have maintained the ward of the city, producing at this time, as it had for a century before, more manufactures, and of the finest fabricks, than the same extent of country in any other part of the empire; not excepting Bengal. Accordingly we find the English agents resorting to Bróach, as soon as they were permitted to have a factory in Surat.

The importance of the company's establishment at Surat, having induced us to trace the events by which it was obtained and confirmed, we shall give the account apart at the end of this section of our notes.

The investment for England, provided at Broach, in the year 1683, consisted of

17000 pieces, broad baftaes; *viz.*

9000 white, } of the usual lengths
4000 blue, } and breadths.

4000 black, such as the Dutch
provided for the Europe
markets.

4000 pieces sevaguzzees, white.

9000 pieces baftaes, narrow, white.

4000 pieces tapfeils, broad.

6000 pieces niccannees, 13 yards long.

15000 pieces of Guinea stuffs.

55000 pieces.

N O T E LXXI.

Page 208, line 2. *Malquer*] is not
mentioned in any map; but MANOUCHI,
from

from whom alone CATROU can have taken it, is right. For we find in our MSS of the Decan, MALKAR as the head place of a circar or government in the province of BEDER, and extending between CALBERGA and GOLCONDAH. We translate

“ CIRCAR OF MOUZAVERNAGAR.

“ This circar, which is more commonly called MALKAR, has 14 purgunnahs.

“ The adjacencies of *Mouzafernagar*,
 “ *Karimour*, *Nergounda*, *Mangalguin*, *Ka-
 “ kourni*, *Sindam Konki*, *Sanour*, *Koudouni*,
 “ *Adjouli*, *Ountkour*, *Mankeel*, *Doumer*,
 “ *Amerdjena*.

“ These purgunnahs have 109 villages,
 “ which give to the treasury 1,091,196
 “ rupees, 2 annas $\frac{2}{4}$.

“ To the east of this *circar*, that of
 “ GOLCONDAH; to the north, BEDER
 “ (meaning the city); to the west, *Kan-
 “ jouni*, of the circar of *Naldourouck*, and
 “ the circar of KALBERGA; to the south,
 “ the soubah of Viziapore *.

* By which it should seem, that both Malkar and Calberga lie to the north of Viziapore.

“ The *Bimra* cometh from the circar
 “ of *Naldouruck* into this circar of MAL-
 “ KAR, and from hence into the foubah
 “ of *Viziapore*. The river of *Kakna*, which-
 “ cometh from BERAR, and passeth near
 “ *Kaliani*, enters this circar; from whence
 “ it flows to join the *Bimra*, which after-
 “ wards passeth below *Ferouzeabad*, and
 “ from thence to the fort of Bidnour.”

We likewise find in the account of the next circar of Ferouzgur, which is a fort on a mountain, that MALKAR stands 12 cofs to the northward of Ferouzgur.

None of these subordinate places are in any of the maps hitherto published; nor can their situations be ascertained with any degree of justness from the documents concerning them in the mss. of the Decan. Mr. D’Anville has not even ventured to give CALBERGA.

N O T E LXXII.

Page 208, line 7. *Ibrahim Caun*.] The defection of Ibrahim Caun, related by Manouchi, is confirmed by the letters of
 the

the agents at Madras; whom he corresponded with and befriended, when in power at Golcondah; and afterwards endeavoured to do them service with Aurengebe.

N O T E LXXIII.

Page 209, line 12. *The city of Viziapore was extensive, and capable of some defence, and had a citadel of greater strength.*] The descriptions given of Viziapore differ.

Tavernier, who was there in 1648, says, "Viziapore is a kind of great village, which has nothing remarkable either in the public edifices, or in regard to trade. The palace of the king is sufficiently extensive, but ill built; nevertheless the approach to it is difficult, because the ditches which surround it are full of water, and stored with crocodiles."

Bernier says, that Viziapore is very strong; but situated in a bad dry country, which has scarcely any good water, excepting what is within the city.

Baldæus

Baldæus, speaking of the kingdom of Viziapore, says, “ Its capital city, “ which bears the same name, lies 70 “ leagues beyond Goa, 80 from Dabul; “ and is said to be five leagues in “ compass, with very strong walls, and “ five noble gates, on which are mounted “ above a thousand brass and iron pieces “ of great cannon. They *tell us*, among “ these there is one carrying no less than “ five hundred and forty pound weight “ of gunpowder, cast by a certain Italian, “ a native of Rome; who being question- “ ed by one of the king’s commissioners “ concerning the money he had disbursed “ on this account, threw him into the “ same hole where he had cast the cannon “ before *.”

Mr. Thevenot says, “ The city of Vizia- “ pore is more than 4 or 5 leagues in cir- “ cumference; it is inclosed by a double “ wall, provided with a quantity of can- “ non; and by a ditch, a *fond de cuve*.

* Baldæus, in Churchill’s collection, vol. iii. p. 540.

“ The palace of the king is in the *middle*
 “ *of the city*; and it is likewise surround-
 “ ed by a ditch full of water, in which
 “ are some crocodiles. This city has
 “ several large suburbs, filled with shops
 “ of goldsmiths and jewellers; besides
 “ which there is little other trade, and
 “ little else to remark.”

Neither Bernier, Baldæus, nor Thevenot, had ever been at Viziapore; nor do we know of any person now living who has: for the marches of Mr. Buffy, when serving in the Decan, never came much nearer to it than Calberga: but there may be some Portugueze priests who have seen it, in their missionary journeys to and from Goa.

N O T E LXXIV.

Page 214, line 11. *Calberga*.] In our mss. which is a later arrangement of the Decan, *Calberga* is rated as a government under *Viziapore*, with the following account of it, according to our own translation; for the text is not very clear:

“ CIRCAR OF ASSENABAD.

“ This circar, which is also named
 “ KALBERGA, has only one purgunnah;
 “ of the same name, KALBERGA; which
 “ contains 288 villages: they give 737,117
 “ rupees, 13 annas and $\frac{3}{4}$ to the trea-
 “ sury.

“ The fortress of KALBERGA is in a
 “ plain; it is surrounded with good
 “ ditches, which may be filled from a
 “ neighbouring tank.

“ Before the introduction of Mahome-
 “ danism, the HINDOOS had within the
 “ fortress a great temple; which the mus-
 “ sulmen have destroyed, and with the
 “ materials built a magnificent mosque,
 “ which exists at this day: it is one of
 “ the largest and best constructed in the
 “ Decan. There was formerly, between
 “ the fortress and Sultanpoor, at 2 coss
 “ distance, a market, where every thing
 “ that could be required was sold: it ex-
 “ ists no longer, since the continual trou-
 “ bles which have reigned in the Decan.
 “ Without the fortress, is the tomb of
 “ Shekseradje, where are some houses.

“ T

“ To the west is the quarter of the Bra-
 “ mins, where one named Kongoy first
 “ began to build; and in course of time,
 “ the Hindoos, by degrees, have fixed
 “ their abode here. Between the fort and
 “ the tomb of a celebrated mussulman, has
 “ been raised a town, to which he has
 “ given his name, Mogdounabad. This
 “ pir (or saint) was called Mogdoun
 “ Sayed Mahomed Guesfouderage. To-
 “ wards the end of the reign of the Sultan
 “ Togoul Schah, all the lords of the De-
 “ can, whom he had subdued, unable to
 “ support, or resist his tyranny, retired to
 “ the frontiers, where, having made some
 “ establishments, they raised troops. The
 “ most considerable amongst them was
 “ Assen Kongoy Bamani, surnamed Mou-
 “ safir Khan, who first got possession, not
 “ without good fortune, of Raibaugue and
 “ Maitché *. These successes having
 “ increased his forces, he advanced against
 “ KALBERGA; and having killed the go-
 “ vernor (who held it for Togoul Schah)

* Perhaps Mirdsjé. See the Map.

“ in a skirmish, the place surrendered to
 “ him. On which all the fugitive lords
 “ united their forces, recovered the De-
 “ can, and acknowledged Assen Kangoy
 “ Bamani their sovereign, with the title
 “ of Sultan Alaoudin. And this prince,
 “ the first of the Bamanis, gave the name
 “ of ASSENABAD to KALBERGA, which he
 “ rendered flourishing, and made his
 “ capital in the year 748 of the Hegira.
 “ A. C. 1347, Magdoun Sayed Mahomed
 “ Guefouderage, the famous saint, came
 “ from the Indus to Kalberga, in the
 “ year 915 of the Hegira, A. C. 1544, in
 “ the time of Firouz Schah Bamani, and
 “ had the address to engage the brother
 “ of this prince to become his disciple,
 “ and build him a fine house. The Sultan
 “ Firouz Schah, from affection to his son,
 “ was desirous of resigning the crown to
 “ him, and consulted Mogdoun, who ad-
 “ vised him to give it to his brother, Ahmed
 “ Schah, as much more capable of govern-
 “ ing the kingdom; to which the Sultan
 “ replied, that this counsel was the price
 “ of the house, and the effect of his desire
 “ to have a king devoted to himself.
 “ Mogdoun,

“ Mogdoun, stung by the reproach, quit-
 “ ted the house, and came to dwell where
 “ his tomb now stands. After the death of
 “ Firouz Schah, his brother Ahmed Schah
 “ succeeded to the throne, when the house
 “ of Mogdoun became so much resorted
 “ to, that by degrees a town was built
 “ about it; which is the Mogdounabad
 “ above mentioned. The credit of Mog-
 “ doun became so great under Ahmed
 “ Schah, who had been, and continued to
 “ profess himself his disciple, that from the
 “ lord to the artificer, all made it their glory
 “ to inlist themselves under his instruction.
 “ Nothing was done without him. After
 “ his death, Ahmed Schah came to *Beder*,
 “ and made this city his capital. The *Bim-*
 “ *ra* passeth within 6 cofs of *Kalberga*.

“ To the EAST of KALBERGA, *Ferouze-*
 “ *gara*; to the NORTH, *Kandjali*, a pur-
 “ gunnah of *Naldourouck*; to the WEST,
 “ the fort of *Naldourouck*; to the SOUTH,
 “ the fort of *Sakkar*, upon a mountain
 “ dependant on *Naldourouck*, where pas-
 “ seth the *Bimra*.”

From KALBERGA,

To the fort of *Sakkar*, 20 cofs.

To *Naldouerozuck*, s. w. 24 cofs.

To *Angousteri*, E. 20 cofs.

To *Pesgouri Metkal*, E. 30 cofs.

To the purgunnah of *Balgui*, N. E. 24 cofs.

To *Valemgarah*, 30 cofs.

To *BEDER*, 30 cofs.

To *KALIANI*, 20 cofs.

To the purgunnah of *Kandjoli*, 20 cofs.

To the purgunnah of *Tchit Koka*, 20 cofs.

N O T E LXXV.

Page 217, line 3. *It was on the 27th of September.*] No account has hitherto ascertained the time when Golcondah was taken by the Mogul's army; there have been doubts even of the year. But it is ascertained by a letter to Mr. Yale, the governor of Madras, from Ahadaed Caun, and Walledaed Caun, two officers of Golcondah in the Conjeveram country. This letter is dated the 15th of October 1687, and says, "*We are informed this day, that the Mogul took Golcondah 18 days since,*" and that the Mogul has given the Car-
 " natic

“ natic country government to Mahomed
 “ Ebrahim, who is coming down to possess
 “ himself of it.” This Mahomed Ebra-
 him, is the Ibrahim Cawn mentioned be-
 fore in Note LXXII, page CXXXII.

N O T E LXXVI.

Page 218, line 14. *We formerly placed
 this revolution in 1680.*] In the history
 of the military transactions, first published
 in 1763, we have said,

“ In the year 1680, the king of Tan-
 “ jore, attacked and well nigh overpower-
 “ ed by the king of Trichinopoly, called
 “ the Morattoes to his assistance. The
 “ famous Sevagee, who at that time reign-
 “ ed over all the Morattoo nations, sent
 “ his brother with a strong army, which
 “ soon left the king of Tanjore nothing
 “ to fear from his enemy, but every thing
 “ from these free-booters; for they made
 “ out so large an account of expences,
 “ that all the riches in the kingdom would
 “ have been insufficient to discharge what
 “ they demanded. Under pretence there-
 “ fore

“ fore of collecting this money, they took
 “ possession of the government; and shortly
 “ after, the brother of Sevagee declared
 “ himself king of Tanjore. He reigned
 “ *six years*, and left three sons.”

We received this information from a person who was concerned in the expedition undertaken, in favour of a pretender, by Fort St. David, against the king of Tanjore, in 1749. But our later researches leave us no right to think that Eccogi entered Tanjore in 1680. And at whatsoever time he made the conquest, it appears doubtful, whether he was acting as a member, or officer, of the Morattoo government.

The objection, which first and immediately occurs to the date of 1680, is the death of Sevagi, which happened in the early part of this very year; and the perplexity which ensued, and continued for a while, in the Morattoo government, in consequence of this event, seems sufficient to have stopped the prosecution of an expedition of such importance as Eccogi's, whatsoever arrangements might have been made to promote it before Sevagi died. Nevertheless,

theless, this objection, if unsupported by others, would not alone confute the date in question.

We have no cotemporary records during the period, in which even their silence on the revolution of Eccogi would have been presumptive evidence that he was not acting in the Tanjore country during the year 1680 : for although the company's agents at this time troubled themselves very little with enquiries which did not immediately concern the interests of their commerce and settlements, yet these attentions were sometimes affected by the general events of the country, which accordingly received mention in their correspondence with the natives, their own servants, and other Europeans. † When Mr. Elihu Yale was sent, in December 1681, to treat with Hargi Rajah, for a settlement at Cuddalore, he went first to Porto Novo, in order to settle the terms of his reception, and the presents he was to make at Gingee ; and the council of Madrafs write to him, December the 28th, complaining that

† See Fragments, Sect. 1. page 164 and 165.

the presents expected were intolerable ; and permit him, in consequence of a suggestion from himself, to treat with the agent of THE NAIGUE OF TANJORE (who seems to have been at Porto Novo) for a settlement at Trimliwash, which is in the Tanjore country.

This single expression of "THE NAIGUE," is almost sufficient to determine us, that ECCOGI was not at this time the ruler of the country.

The three great Naigues of Coromandel, under the ancient Gentoo sovereignty, whether of Bisnagar, or Chandergherri, were Gingee, Tanjore, and Madura. After the conquest of Gingee by Viziapore, about 1655, the rulers of Tanjore and Madura retained their titles of Naigue; which, although meaning a lieutenant, will not decide the degree of their dependence on Viziapore, because they had long retained it with very little on the Gentoo sovereignty of Chandergherri, and Bisnagar.

The Viziapore governor of Gingee was styled the CAWN. Harji Rajah, appointed by Sevagi, after he conquered Gingee in 1677, is styled, when spoken of, the GREAT

SUBADAR, and assumes the eminent title of MAHA RAJAH, to which he had no right, nor could use to his superior Sevagi, or his successor Sambagi. We see the ruler of Tanjore, in 1681, called THE NAIGUE: It is not probable that ECCOGI, the brother of Sevagi, should, after he had obtained the government, or sovereignty of Tanjore, have admitted, or have been designated by, a title so inferior in phrase to that which had been assumed by an officer of his brother Sevagi. However, admitting the contrary, December 1681 presseth so close upon the conquest of 1680, that we must suppose he would at that time have been distinguished by some epithet, significant of the lateness of his accession to the government, instead of being simply called *The Naigue*, as if he were the ruler of the ancient line, whom he had just dispossessed.

We have likewise said, as in the extract above cited, that he reigned *six years*; but his reign must have extended longer, if he were the NAIGUE OF TANJORE, with whom Mr. Yale wished to treat for Trimliwash, in December 1681: for we find

him alive, from an authentic record, in September 1688.

We therefore relinquish our position of 1680, but are yet to seek the time of his death, as well as of his accession to the government of Tanjore, and the nature of his tenure.

A late publication *, supplied with documents out of our reach, saith,

Some time after the reduction of Bijapour (commonly called Viziapore)
“ ONE Ecko-ji, and other Marattas, ser-
“ vants to the dethroned king, fled, with
“ a few troops, from the persecution of
“ the Moguls, and *established* themselves
“ at Gingee, in the Carnatic. Some dif-
“ ferences subsisting at that time between
“ Wagira, the Naig of Tanjore, and
“ Trimul, Naig of Madura and Tritchin-
“ opoly, the former applied to Ecko-ji
“ for assistance; but the treacherous Ma-
“ ratta seized the government he had been
“ called to defend. The unfortunate Wa-

* The history and management of the East-India company. London, 1779, quarto.

“ gira

“ gira was forced to fly and take refuge
 “ in Seringapatam, the capital of *Myfore**.
 “ This revolution in the government of
 “ Tanjore, happened about the year
 “ 1696 †.

“ Ecko-ji, not content with his acqui-
 “ sition of Tanjore, began to extend his
 “ territories, and to give assistance to *re-*
 “ *bels*, though he owned himself its sub-
 “ ject. His death, which happened about
 “ the year 1702, transferred the ven-
 “ geance, prepared for him by the Mo-
 “ guls, to his son, and successor, Shaw-ji,
 “ or Suhu-ji,” &c.

The notes which accompany the portion
 we have extracted, are

* to *Myfore*.] “ Wagira had a son, Chim-
 “ gul Muldass, whose son, the grandson of
 “ Wagira, the expelled Naig, is still living in
 “ or near Seringapatam.”

† to 1696.] “ Authentic mss account of
 “ Tanjore, taken on the spot, and now in the
 “ hands of the author of this disquisition, &c.
 “ Culnamma of Zulfacar Caun. Nabob's pa-
 “ pers, vol. i. page 41.”

The date of 1696, ascribed to the revolution, must be an oversight.

Shah-Gi was the father of Sambagi, ECCOGI, and the famous SEVAGI : all had employment under the government of Viziapore, in which Sambagi and Eccogi continued after the revolt of their brother. What became of Sambagi, we have not learnt ; but admit, that ECCOGI remained in the service of Viziapore, if not until the fall, at least until he despaired of the kingdom.

The city of Viziapore was taken, at the earliest, in June 1686 ; the king, perhaps, a month or two after. We have a letter from Madrafs to Cuddalore, which shews that Eccogi was considered as the ruler of Tanjore, in September 1687. It is the first and only mention we find of him in this year ; for, although we have not the letters received before July, we have the letters written by Madrafs from the beginning of the year. Hence it follows, that if ECCOGI came to Gingee *some time after the reduction of Viziapore*, the revolution by which he acquired Tanjore must have been

been accomplished in the space of 6 or 7 months at most; which however might be, if there were much treachery, and little resistance.

That Eccogi should have brought with him a body of Morattoe troops, is not improbable; for being a Hindoo, the troops of his command in the service of Viziapore, were in all likelihood of the same distinction; and no where nearer to make his levies, than in the countries which spoke the Morattoe language; not that we suppose they were of the same hardness and activity, as the cavalry of the Morattoe government, established by Sevagi.

That Eccogi, with his Morattoes, should have *established* themselves (in the strict sense of the word) at Gingee, is impossible; for we find Hargi Rajah, Sambagi's vicegerent, governing there with as full authority, in the beginning of 1687, as when Mr. Yale was sent to treat with him for a factory at Cuddalore, at the end of 1681.

We have little of Madrafs during the interval between 1681 and the beginning of 1687, or might otherwise have discovered

ed this dubious date of Eccogi's expedition into Tanjore; but if conjecture might be substituted to the defect of record, it would be no improbable account to suppose, that,

“ SAMBAGI, the son of SEVAGI, and his
 “ successor in the sovereignty of the Mo-
 “ rattoe state, was in correspondence with
 “ his uncle ECCOGI; who, instead of wait-
 “ ing, as is said, until *some time after*
 “ *the reduction of Viziapore*, went off, as
 “ several other commanders did, before
 “ the city was invested, and came with
 “ recommendations from his nephew, to
 “ Hargi Rajah at Gingee; who accord-
 “ ingly permitted him to advance and en-
 “ camp near the fortress, and accommo-
 “ dated him in other respects. This re-
 “ ception, at the distance of a century,
 “ may have been mistaken, by cursory en-
 “ quiry, for an establishment made by EC-
 “ COGI at Gingee. The rest naturally fol-
 “ lows. The war existing on the other
 “ side of the Coleroon, found employment
 “ for ECCOGI; who, successful against
 “ Trichinopoly, seized the government
 “ of Tanjore.” All this might have hap-
 pened

pened in the latter half of 1685, and the first of 1686.

.By the *rebels*, whom Eccogi assisted after *his acquisition of Tanjore*, we suppose are meant the Morattoes of Gingee; and we were surprized not to find this confederacy as soon as the Mogul troops began to approach the Carnatic; but, until the end of 1688, neither Eccogi, nor any officer seeming to belong to him, appears taking any part in the hostilities we have mentioned. They may afterwards; and should we find them so acting, will give some light to two or three years of obscurity.

The death of Eccogi, imputed to 1702, is another oversight. For in the same publication, his successor, Sahuji, appears reigning in 1695. We remark, that the two mistaken dates of 1696 and 1702, ascribed to the accession and death of Eccogi, give the *six years* which we formerly allotted to the extent of his reign.

We admire, that in a dispute of such importance, as that which has been lately agitated between the Nabob of Arcot and the Rajah of Tanjore, no regular history has been produced of this country, from the
3
accession

accession of ECCOGI, who is the ancestor of the present RAJAH; not even the dates of death in the succession, nor of the hostilities, whether in the family, or with their neighbours; their acknowledgments, or resistance of the Mogul government. All that is necessary to know in Europe, if dates are given, might be composed in a few pages. The public acts, agreements, and treaties, would be mere translations; and, for obvious reasons, ought not to be presented in any other form.

N O T E LXXVII.

Page 230, line 14. *Cablis Cawn.*] His name occurs variously spelt. In the letter which SAMBAGI wrote to Keigwin, on concluding the treaty, which adjusted the terms of trade and intercourse between his western country and Bombay, and confirmed the company's trade and factories in the Gingee country, he says, "You shall also
" take notice what shall be written to you
" by my *loving, and faithful* Cavy Callas;" unusual terms in the stile either of the
Mahomedan

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Mahomedan or Hindoo princes; unless when speaking of their sons or brothers: the epithets which they give to their officers are generally expressive of the superiority of their dignity over others; and subservience to themselves.

N O T E LXXVIII.

Page 231, line 5. *In the month of June.*] An abstract is preserved of the letter written by the government of Madras to the company on the 20th of July 1679, in which no mention is made of Sambagi's death. The next letter is dated August 27th; and the abstract says; "Have news
" from the Moors camp" (in the Carnatic);
" their forces had surprized SAMBAGEE,
" brought him prisoner to the MOGUL:
" was mounted on a camel, his eyes put
" out, and beheaded; his quarters dis-
" perfed as a traitor." Allowing more than 20 days for the coming of the news, Sambagi might have been taken at the end of June; if less, in the beginning of July. The letter of the 27th of August, gives

no intimation how long the news had been received at Madrafs; so that the event might have happened in the end of July. This circumscription to the interval of a month or 6 weeks, may assist inquiry to ascertain the real date, which we hope will be done.

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Printed December 5th, 1782.

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- III. 3. *Dele the.*
- XXI. 18. *For 1673, read 1671.*
- XXV. 11. *For east, read west.*
- XXVII. 16. *For Shaw Afkun, read Shere Afkun.*
- LIII. 5. *For Ferittha, read Ferishta; and so
wherever the mistake occurs.*

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

The approaching opportunities of conveyance to India, have induced us not to detain this publication, for THE ESTABLISHMENT, promised in page CXXX of these NOTES; ~~but the tract~~ is in forwardness, and will soon appear.

January 2d, 1783.
